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TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE LITERARY SOCIETY
OF
BOMBAY

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE HONORABLE JAMES GIBBS, F.R.G.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY,

&c. &c. &c.

This reprint

OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

IS INSCRIBED

BY HIS GRATEFUL FRIEND

THE EDITOR.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bombay was laid by Sir James Mackintosh, on the 26th November 1804, and he held the first Meeting at Parel-House, where he resided, when the following gentlemen were present :—

The Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

The Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, Knight, Recorder of Bombay.

The Right Honourable Viscount Valentia.

General Oliver Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

Stuart Moncrieff Threipland, Esq., Advocate General.

Helenus Scott, M.D., First Member of the Medical Board.

William Dowdeswell, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

Henry Salt, Esq., afterwards Consul-General in Egypt.

Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, afterwards Military Accountant General at Bombay.

Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Boden, Quarter-Master General at Bombay.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Charlton Harris, Deputy Quarter-Master General at Bombay.

Charles Forbes, Esq., Merchant.

Robert Drummmond, M.D.

Colonel Jasper Nicolls, afterwards Quarter-Master General in Bengal.

Major Edward Moor.

George Keir, M.D.

William Erskine, Esq.

There was no Journal for publishing its proceedings, and the papers read or communicated. In 1820, three volumes of Transactions were published in England,—containing papers of great interest and importance, some of which are looked upon as authorities even at this day.

In 1830, the Society was incorporated with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and its designation was changed from the Literary Society of Bombay to that of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

Still there was no Journal established. For I find that Dr. Wilson's first address, delivered on 27th January 1836, forty years ago, before our Society, was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. V., pp. 304-312). The Editor heads that address with the following note :—

This address, obligingly communicated to us by the author, gives so valuable a review of all that has been done by the Bombay Society, that we make no apology, but rather feel a pride in transferring it to our pages entire : the rather because Bombay does not yet boast a Journal of its own, like Madras does. Since the establishment of the latter Journal, we have discontinued inserting the Proceedings of the Society at that Presidency, conceiving the means for their preservation and circulation to be more appropriately provided for.

In 1841, the first number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society was published, and that serial has, with a few interruptions, been kept up to this day. The old series of Transactions has, however, been long out of print, and many gentlemen have from time to time expressed a desire to see them reprinted. The Managing Committee of the Society had resolved to do so on more than one occasion, but the project fell through.

Last year, I obtained the Committee's permission to reprint the Transactions at my own risk, and they have been republished in an octavo form, the plates being folded. Although burdened with other professional engagements of a very exacting kind, I undertook to supply a few references at the end of each article, showing how the subject-matter thereof stood at the present day. How far that task has been fulfilled, it is for my readers to judge. This much I can say, that I have tried to do my best, though the time at my command has been so short as not to permit me to do the work in a very exhaustive manner.

Nearly two generations have elapsed since the publication of these Transactions; and it has been suggested that a brief

memoir of the members who attended the first meeting of the Society, and of the contributors to these volumes, would be desirable. A short account has therefore been compiled, giving the necessary references to the lives of some of the members above mentioned, and of those who have contributed to the volumes now reprinted.

BABINGTON, J., Esq.

MR. BABINGTON entered the Madras Civil Service in 1804, and served as an Assistant in the Secretariat, and Malabari Translator to Government. The last appointment he held was that of Principal Collector of Malabar and Canara. He retired on his annuity in 1833.

BODEN, Lieut.-Colonel JOSEPH.

Lieutenant-Colonel JOSEPH BODEN entered the Honourable E. I. Company's service in 1779. He held successively the appointments of Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master General; Deputy Quarter-Master General; Aide-de-Camp to the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay; and Quarter-Master General, Bombay Army. He retired on the 28th August 1807, and died in England in 1813. He became the founder of the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit in Oxford.

BRIGGS, Captain JOHN.

Captain (afterwards General) JOHN BRIGGS, F.R.S., M.R.A.S., was born in 1785, and arrived in India as a cadet in the Madras Army in 1801; saw much active service, and worked out his political apprenticeship under Sir John Malcolm, during the eventful years of the decline and dissolution of the Maratha confederacy. He was the second Resident at Sattara, succeeding Captain Grant Duff. From this place he wrote the "Letters to a young person in India to afford instruction for his conduct in general, and more especially in his intercourse with the natives," which he published in 1828. Subsequently he occupied a diplomatic post in Persia, and filled successively the offices of Resident at Nagpore and Commissioner of Mysore.

While in India and after his return home he made many contributions to almost every department of literature and science connected with the East. He collated and edited the "History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India," by Ferishta, perhaps the most beautiful and extended specimen of Persian lithography ever executed,—which was printed in Bombay in 1831; his translation of Ferishta in 4 vols., published in 1829, has attained the rank of a classic; he translated the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*, or "Review of the Moderns," by Ghulam Hussain, the "Chronicle of the Decay of the Mogal Empire and Mussulman Domination." His work on the Land Tax of India (1836) has ever been held, and still remains, a most valuable storehouse of

information both for the historian and the statesman. He also wrote other valuable pamphlets on various Indian subjects,—such as the Cotton Trade in India (1839); “Aborigines of India” in Jameson’s *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* for October, 1851; and four papers contributed to the *Transactions and Journal of the parent Society*, viz. “An Autobiographical Memoir of the early Life of Nana Farnevis,” “Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peshwa Mádhava Rao,” “Essay on the Life and Writings of Ferishta,” and “An Account of the Sherley Family.”

The General’s later labours were given rather to national and imperial objects than to such as would be directly conducive either to the purposes of men in power or to his own profit. He was one of the first, and for some time one of the most active members of the Anti-Corn-Law-League, and unsuccessfully contested Exeter on Free Trade principles. As a proprietor of Indian stock he took a prominent part in denouncing the deposition of the Raja of Sattara, at whose Court he had been Resident, and in advocating his restoration. He lost no opportunity of attacking the policy of annexation pursued during the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, and evinced sagacity and political foresight in prognosticating its consequences. He died at Burgess Hill, near Brighton, 27th April 1875, aged 90 years.

BROOKS, Lieut.-Colonel.

Captain (afterwards Major-General) WILLIAM BROOKS was appointed to the Bombay Engineers in 1782. He held successively the appointments of Director of the Fire Engines at the Presidency; President, Committee of Survey; Superintending Engineer at the Presidency; Member of the Military Board; Military Auditor General, and Chief Engineer at the Presidency, and died in England on the 30th October 1838.

BRUCE, WILLIAM, Esq.

Mr. BRUCE was the East India Company’s Resident at Bushire in 1813.

CARNAC, Captain JAMES RIVETT.

Captain (afterwards Major-General) Sir JAMES RIVETT CARNAC, Bart., belonged to the Madras Army. Subsequently he was Resident at Baroda. After his return home he became a Member of the Court of Directors from 1829 to 1838, Deputy Chairman of that body in 1835-36, and Chairman from 1836 to 1838, and was Governor of Bombay from 1839 to 1841.

COATS, THOMAS, Esq.

Mr. COATS was appointed Assistant Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment in 1799, and retired to England in 1822.

COPLAND, JOHN, Esq.

Assistant Surgeon JOHN COPLAND entered the service in 1808, and was appointed Assistant Surgeon on the 11th September 1809. He held

the appointment of Garrison Surgeon's Mate and Deputy Medical Store-keeper at the Presidency, and died in Bombay on the 12th December 1818.

CRAWFORD, JOHN, Esq.

Mr. CRAWFORD was Resident at Djocjocarta, in Java, in 1816-17.

DUNCAN, The Honourable JONATHAN.

The Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, and for many years Resident at Benares. He was afterwards Governor of Bombay, from 1795 to 11th August 1811.

He died at Bombay, and was buried in the Cathedral. The following is the inscription on the handsome and tasteful monument raised to his memory :—

“ IN MEMORY OF

THE HON'BLE JONATHAN DUNCAN,
GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY FROM 1795 to 1811.

Recommended to that high office by his talents and integrity in the discharge of various important duties in Bengal and Benares, his purity and zeal for the public good were equally conspicuous during his long and upright administration at this Presidency.

With a generous disregard of personal interest,
his private life was adorned

by the most munificent acts of charity and friendship
to all classes of the community.

To the natives in particular he was a friend and protector,
to whom they looked with unbounded confidence,
and never appealed in vain.

He was born at Wardhouse, in the county of Forfar, in Scotland,
on the 1st May 1756;
came to India at the age of 16; and after 39 years of uninterrupted service
died at this place on 11th August 1811.

INFANTICIDE

ABOLISHED

IN

BENARES AND KATTYWAR.

Several of the British inhabitants of Bombay,
justly appreciating his distinguished merits
in public and private life,
have raised this monument
as a tribute of respect and esteem.

MDCCCXVII.”

A full account of his services to the cause of suppression of female infanticide is given in Dr. Wilson's History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India,

DANGERFIELD, Captain FREDERIC.

Captain **DANGERFIELD** entered the Bombay Army in 1804; became Captain in 1820; and died at Indore on 6th December 1828.

DRUMMOND, ROBERT, M.D.

Surgeon **ROBERT DRUMMOND** was appointed to the Bombay Medical Establishment in 1796. He was Residency Surgeon, Baroda, and Surgeon to the Judge of Appeal and Circuit in Guzerat, and was struck off the rolls of the Bombay Army on the 14th March 1809, having been lost at sea on his passage home. He published Grammars of the Marathi, Gujarati, and Malabari languages, "from which gleanings may yet be made by the best of our local philologists." (Dr. Wilson in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. IV., p. 283.)

ERSKINE, WILLIAM, Esq.

Mr. W. ERSKINE came to Bombay with Sir James Mackintosh. In 1808, he was appointed Clerk of Small Causes; and in 1820, Master in Equity in H. M.'s Supreme Court. He left India in 1823, and afterwards resided chiefly at Edinburgh, and Bonn on the Rhine. He died in May 1852. His contributions to these Transactions are alone sufficient to attest his merits as a scholar and investigator. The reading public are likewise aware of his "Life of Baber and Humayun," 2 vols., and "Translation of the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber." The Rev. Dr. Wilson wrote a brief memoir of Mr. Erskine's researches, which will be found at pp. 276-84, vol. IV. of the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.

FORBES, CHARLES, Esq.

Mr. (afterwards SIR CHARLES) FORBES was a member of the firm of Forbes & Co. of this city. He was one of the first members of the Society, and one of the greatest benefactors of the people of India. He died in 1850, and the following notice occurs in the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for that year:—

"The earnest and active interest always taken by Sir Charles Forbes in the welfare and in the social and intellectual improvement of the people of India would have entitled him to especial notice in the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, even although he had not, by his personal influence among his Parsi friends at Bombay, brought many of them into association, by introducing them as members of our own body. This was part of the noble design which occupied the thoughts and warmed the generous heart of Sir

Charles, anxious to elevate the character of the natives of India, by leading them to a practical conviction and a due appreciation of their own intellectual and moral capabilities, by bringing into public view the results of their honourable exertions, and by associating the most intelligent and distinguished amongst them with European society on terms of friendly intercourse.

"Sir Charles took a warm interest in the success of the Society's labours, and entered with much spirit into the operations of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, formed in 1837, of which he was a Chairman. During the latter years of his life the state of his health deprived the Society of his services; and by his death the people of Hindustan, and the natives of Bombay in particular, have lost a zealous friend and enlightened advocate."

The following is a copy of the inscription on the statue voted to Sir Charles by the people of Bombay, and which now stands in the Town Hall :—

"Sir CHARLES FORBES, Baronet,

The disinterested benefactor of the native inhabitants of this island, and the tried and trusted friend of the people of India.

Erected in token of esteem and gratitude

by

the native inhabitants of Bombay, 1841."

FRISSELL, Lieut. EDWARD.

Lieutenant EDWARD S. FRISSELL entered the service in 1797, and did duty with the Resident's Escort at Poona. He died at Calcutta on the 1st February 1807.

FREDERICK, Captain EDWARD.

Lieutenant (afterwards General) EDWARD FREDERICK, C.B., entered the Honourable E. I. Company's service in 1779, and held successively the offices of Assistant Commissary General, and Commissary General, Bombay Army. He died in England on the 5th December 1866.

GRAHAM, Lieut. JAMES WILLIAM.

Lieutenant (afterwards Major) JAMES WILLIAM GRAHAM entered the service in 1800, and held successively the offices of Chief Interpreter and Translator to the Supreme Court of Judicature. He was cashiered on the 20th November 1828, by sentence of a general court-martial. It is not known what became of him afterwards.

HALL, Captain BASIL.

Captain BASIL HALL, R.N., F.R.S., was the son of Sir John Hall, Geologist, and President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Born in 1788, he entered the Navy in 1802. He commanded the *Lyra* at the time when Lord

Macartney was sent on a mission to the coast of Pekin, and published an interesting account of his visit to Loochoo. He was the author of observations on a comet at the time when he was on the South American station, and of a paper on the geology of the Cape of Good Hope. At an early period of his life his favourite science was astronomy, but geology could not be indifferent to the son of Sir James Hall. He was always most anxious to serve science by receiving the instructions of distinguished philosophers, and recording for their use observations made by him in the distant parts of the world which he had the opportunity of visiting. He was an able observer and practical astronomer, and had occasion to turn those qualities to excellent account as a naval officer. He was author of many works of great interest, chiefly connected with what he had himself seen in different parts of the globe. He died in 1844.—Obituary notice in *Trans. Royal Society*.

HAMMER, JOSEPH, Esq.

JOSEPH HAMMER (afterwards Baron HAMMER-PURGSTALL) was born at Gratz, in Styria, in 1774, and early distinguished himself in Oriental literature. In 1799, he was sent to Constantinople by the Austrian Government, and soon after he was placed in charge of the Consulate in Egypt. In 1815, he recovered for his Government the literary treasures carried off by the French in 1809. In 1834, he was presented by the King of Persia with the order of the Lion and Sun. The Government of Austria made him a Baron in 1835. In 1840, he retired from public life, and died on 23rd November 1857, in the 84th year of his age. The foundation of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna was due to his influence. He was a voluminous writer, and also an editor and translator of Oriental works, chiefly Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.

HARRIS, Lieut.-Colonel T. C.

Lieut.-Colonel THOMAS CHARLTON HARRIS entered the Honourable E. I. Company's service in 1788. He held successively the appointments of Deputy Adjutant General; Deputy Quarter-Master General; Commissary of Grain and Hired Cattle, Poona Subsidiary Force, and of Assistant Commissary General, and died at sea on the 8th October 1819.

IRVINE, Lieut. FRANCIS.

Lieutenant FRANCIS IRVINE belonged to the 11th Bengal Native Infantry, and was Secretary to the Madrissah Committee. He retired on the 25th November 1822.

KEIR, GEORGE, M.D.

Surgeon GEORGE KEIR, M.D., was appointed to the Bombay Medical Establishment in 1792, and filled the offices of Deputy Medical Storekeeper and Garrison Surgeon at the Presidency, and Secretary to the Medical Board. He retired on the 4th March 1812.

KENNEDY, Captain VANS.

Captain (afterwards Major-General) VANS KENNEDY was the celebrated Orientalist who for many years was the moving spring of the Literary Society and of the Bo. Br. R. As. Society. A biographical memoir of him was read before the Bombay Branch by Dr. James Bird, and is published at pp 430 to 436, vol. II. of the Society's Journal. The following resolutions which were passed on this occasion will show to some extent the value of General Kennedy's services :—

"A Biographical Memoir of the late General Kennedy was then read by the Society, after which it was moved by the Hon'ble the President, L. R. Reid, seconded by the Vice-President, Col. Jervis, and resolved—That in reference to a resolution of the Society passed on the 14th of January to call a special Meeting on this day, 4th February 1847, to take into consideration the best method of manifesting its respect for the memory of the late Major-General Vans Kennedy, this Society, in addition to its opinion of his valuable services in connection with Oriental Literature, &c. already recorded in its proceedings, do open a subscription for the purpose, 1st, of erecting a suitable monument over his remains, and 2ndly of providing a Gold Medal, to be placed annually at the disposal of the Board of Education, and awarded by it in a manner that may seem most conducive to the promotion of Oriental Literature.

"2. It was moved by Chief Justice Sir David Pollock, seconded by the Vice-President and Secretary, J. Bird, Esq.—That the subscription should not be confined to members of the Society alone, but be open to all persons.

"3. It was moved by the Hon'ble J. P. Willoughby, Esq., seconded by J. Glen, Esq.—That the Biographical Memoir of Major-General Vans Kennedy be printed in the Society's Journal, and copies of it distributed to all the learned Societies connected with Oriental Literature in all parts of the world, with an expression of the Society's deep regret at the demise of one so deservedly celebrated in the annals of Oriental learning.

"4. It was moved by C. J. Erskine, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor, seconded by A. Malet, Esq., Secretary to Government—That the several Asiatic Societies in Asia, Europe, and America be specially invited to join in this tribute of respect to the memory of one whose reputation as an Oriental scholar is so widely extended throughout the civilized world.

"Sir David Pollock, seconded by Dr. Buist, then proposed—That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Secretary of the Society, for his able and satisfactory Memoir of Major-General Vans Kennedy. The propositions were carried unanimously."

General Vans Kennedy's works on (1) Hindu Mythology and (2) the Origin and Affinity of Languages have attained the rank of Indian classics; while his papers on the Purávas in the "Quarterly Oriental Review," then published at Calcutta, and his learned essays contributed to the journals of the

parent and branch Asiatic Societies, are a monument of his varied and extensive learning. He was a Vice-President and Secretary of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society when the gifted Mountstuart Elphinstone was its President. He died in 1846, in his 63rd year.

MACKINTOSH, Sir JAMES.

The Right Honourable Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, Kt., was born at Aldowrie, near Inverness, in October 1765, educated at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Edinburgh University, where he studied medicine and took his degree in 1787. Whilst, however, still a student of medicine, his mind became seriously directed towards general literature and philosophy, and he soon began to resolve to abandon that profession; but, disappointed at the want of success of his first pamphlet, on the Regency Question, he proceeded to the continent to pursue his studies. On his return to England in 1791 he astonished his contemporaries by the production of his "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or Defence of the French Revolution*," the success of which induced him to finally abandon his original profession. He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1795. Three years later he delivered a course of lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations, of which it is said that if he had published nothing else he would have left a perfect monument of his intellectual strength and symmetry. The first case of eminence he distinguished himself in at the bar was that of *M. Pettier*, for a libel against Bonaparte, when his speech for the defence was declared to be the most eloquent oration ever heard in Westminster Hall.

He was appointed Recorder of Bombay and knighted in 1803, and on the bench immediately showed himself a great master of Criminal Jurisprudence. In his first charge to the grand jury he spoke of the intense pains he had taken to study and collect all information about the character and morality of the people of this country; and during the seven years he remained in Bombay he studied to obtain much valuable communication upon facts relating to the island, its government, and its inhabitants. Broken down in health, he returned to England in 1811, but in the course of a couple of years was elected a member of Parliament, and took an active share in the debates, and was always found on the side of freedom, justice, and humanity. The amendment of Criminal Law also engaged him at this time, and subsequently he undertook a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution. His parliamentary duties and feeble health, however, interfered with its production. He died in May 1832. (Extracted from *Annual Biography and Obituary*.) An excellent memoir of his life by his son may be referred to, and a brief account in *Calcutta Review*, vol. XIV., pp. 481-96.

MALCOLM, Sir JOHN.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM belonged to the Madras Army. He was born in 1769; arrived in India in 1783, and rose to the rank of Major-General in

1819. He served in Hyderabad, Mysore, Central India, and in the last Maráthá war. He also went to Persia as an Envoy, and did eminent service on that as on all other occasions. He was one of those great soldier-statesmen who founded the British Empire in the East. He was Governor of Bombay from 1829 to 1830. He was created a G.C.B., and had the order of the Lion and Sun conferred on him by the Shah. His biography, in 2 vols., was written by John Kaye the historian. He wrote a History of Persia; an elaborate Report on Malwa; a Life of Lord Clive; a Memoir of Central India, 2 vols.; a Political History of India, 2 vols.; and many papers in the Transactions of learned societies. He died in London in 1833. *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. VI., pp. 108-41; and *Calcutta Review*, vol. II. p. 438, vol. XIV. pp. 91, 497, vol. XXVI. p. 285, vol. XXIX. pp. 157-206 and 305-53, may also be referred to.

MACMURDO, Lieut. JAMES.

Lieutenant JAMES MACMURDO entered the service in 1801; commanded the Resident's Guard at Baroda; was Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Oliver Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief of Bombay; Agent in Kattyawar, and Resident in Cutch. He died on the 28th April 1820. A short biography of this promising officer appears in vol. III. of these Transactions, pp. 569-78 of this edition.

MILES, Captain WILLIAM.

Captain (afterwards Colonel) WILLIAM MILES entered the Bombay Army in 1799; was Commandant of British Guards in the Fort and Poora of Baroda; Political Agent, Pahlupoor, and Commandant at Baroda. He retired on the 28th July 1834, and died in 1861.

MOOR, Major EDWARD.

Captain (afterwards Major) EDWARD MOOR entered the service in 1781, and was Garrison Storekeeper and Commissary of Receipt and Issue of Provisions at the Presidency. He retired on the 17th June 1807.

He was the author of the "Hindu Pantheon," "Oriental Fragments," and other works. A short biographical account is prefixed to the second edition of the "Hindu Pantheon," published at Madras in 1864. He died in 1848, and to the last continued to take a lively interest in the affairs of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was a useful member.

NICOLLS, General OLIVER.

Lieutenant-General OLIVER NICOLLS assumed command of the forces in the Bombay Presidency on the 7th December 1802, and resigned it in February 1807, and returned to Europe.

NICOLLS, Major JASPER.

Major (afterwards General) Sir JASPER NICOLLS, K.C.B., entered the army

in 1793, and served with the 48th Regiment in the West Indies for five or six years. In 1802 he came out to Bombay as Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Oliver Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency. In 1803, he joined the force under Sir A. Wellesley, and was present at the battles of Argaum and Gawulghur. Soon after he returned to England and joined Lord Cathcart's army in Hanover. He distinguished himself at the attack on Buenos Ayres in 1806 by obtaining possession of the Presidencia and capturing two guns from the Spaniards. Soon after, being appointed to the command of a battalion of the 14th Regiment, he proceeded with it to the Peninsula, and was present at Corunna. Next, with the Walcheren expedition, he was at the capture of Flushing. After a short tour of service at home he came out to India as Quarter-Master General, and during the first Nepal War commanded a force of sepoys, with which he captured Almorah, the capital of Kumaon. In 1817 he served as a Brigadier in the Pindaree War. In 1825 he again came to India, and as a Major-General commanded a Division at the siege of Bhartpore; and in 1838 for the fourth time he came to this country, as Commander-in-Chief in Madras, whence he proceeded the following year to Bengal as Commander-in-Chief in India. He returned to England in 1843, and died in 1849 at the age of 75 years.—Obituary Notice in *United Service Journal*.

SALT, HENRY, Esq.

HENRY SALT, F.R.S., was born at Lichfield, and received his education in the grammar-school of that city. His love of travelling and taste for drawing procured him the friendship of Lord Valentia, whom he accompanied to the Levant, Egypt, Abyssinia, and the East Indies. The travels of that nobleman, published in 1809, 4to, derived great benefit from the graphic illustrations of Mr. Salt, who also published, about the same time, twenty-four of his views in a folio size. In consequence of the knowledge of the East which Mr. Salt had thus acquired, he was employed by Government as the bearer of presents to the Emperor of Abyssinia, the result of which mission appeared before the public in 1814, in a work of high importance to commerce and science. It is intitled "A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the interior of that country, executed under the orders of the British Government, in the years 1809 and 1810, in which are included an Account of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa," &c. &c. He was afterwards appointed Consul-General in Egypt, and died near Cairo, October 1827.

SCOTT, HELENUS, Esq.

DR. HELENUS SCOTT, the son of a Scottish minister residing near Dundee, was educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh. He then visited London, whence he proceeded to Venice. He entered the Bombay Medical Service on 13th January 1783, and after a successful career in it, having filled the offices of 2nd and 1st Member of the Medical Board, he retired on 30th March 1810. He embarked for New South Wales in 1821, but died on the voyage, in the

month or November. He was the author of the romance "The Adventures of a Rupee."—Rose, *Biogr. Dict.*

STAUNTON, Sir GEORGE.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, Bart. He was born in 1781 at Milford, near Salisbury. He left England with Lord Macartney's mission, when he was not more than ten years old, with his father, who was Secretary to the Legation. From 1799 to 1819 he served the E. I. Company in China, and was a member of Parliament from 1818 to 1852. He was one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was the first of four Vice-Presidents elected in April 1823. He died in 1860. A list of his works is given in the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for that year.

SYKES, Captain W. H.

Captain (afterwards Colonel) W. H. SYKES was born in 1790. He received his education privately, and joined the Bombay Army in 1804. He served under Lord Lake at Bhurtpore, and was present at the battles of Kirkee and Poona. In 1824 he was appointed Statistical Reporter to the Government of Bombay, and as such collected and published a variety of information. He left India in 1831, became Colonel in 1840, and was elected a member of the Board of Directors, of which body he was Deputy Chairman and Chairman.

He entered Parliament in 1857, and sat till he died, in 1872. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1834, and some time held its presidential chair, as well as those of the Statistical Society, London, and of the Society of Arts. In 1856 he received a medal from the citizens of Bombay for his educational services. He was the author of "Land Tenures of the Dekkan," "Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of Ancient India," "The Origin and Progress of the Taiping Rebellion in China," "The Organization and Cost of the English and French Armies," and upwards of sixty papers in the Journals and Transactions of learned Societies.

VALENTIA, The Right Honourable Lord Viscount.

The Right Honourable EARL MOUNTNORRIS, VISCOUNT VALENTIA, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., &c., was born in 1770, educated at Rugby and Oxford, served a short time in the army, resided on the continent and in Staffordshire, until 1802, when he embarked for the East, and after travelling four years published his "Voyages and Travels in India, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, 1802-6." He died in 1844.—*Annual Register*.

WEDDERBURN, JOHN, Esq.

JOHN WEDDERBURN (afterwards Sir John, Baronet) entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1807, and held various appointments, chiefly financial, at the Presidency. He was Accountant General from 1830 to 1839, when he returned to Europe. He died at Brighton on the 2nd July 1852.

I cannot close this Preface without recording my obligations to our President, the Honourable James Gibbs, without whose helpful advice, sympathy, and encouragement during the progress of this somewhat tedious work, undertaken in the midst of heavy professional engagements, I should hardly have been able to complete it within the time I had proposed to myself. My obligations are also due to Mr. Edward Rehatsek, one of our Honorary Members, whose assistance has been invaluable. I am also indebted to my colleague, Dr. Codrington, for many suggestions, and for assistance in compiling the lives of members and contributors; to Mr. Jahangir Vacha for valuable suggestions in regard to Persian history and antiquities; and to Dr. Da Cunha for information respecting Elephanta.

The figures in the margin refer to the pages of the original quarto edition. Works have been generally quoted by their full titles; but the following abbreviations have been used with reference to the particular series which they denote:—

Jour. R. A. S. for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Jour. B. B. R. A. S. for Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jour. A. S. Beng., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

A. R., Asiatic Researches.

Trans. B. G. S., Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.

VISHVANÁTH NÁRÁYAN MANDLIK.

Bombay, 27th February 1877.

*ADVERTISEMENT.

THE objects for which the Literary Society of Bombay was instituted are explained in the Discourse of the President, and it is unnecessary to add anything to what is there stated.

The first meeting of the Society was held on the 26th November 1804, at Parel-house, where Sir James Mackintosh then resided; the Discourse which he read on that occasion is prefixed to the present volume. At this meeting the following persons were present :—

The Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

The Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, Knight, Recorder of Bombay.

The Right Honourable Viscount Valentia.

General Oliver Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

Stuart Moncrieff Threipland, Esq., Advocate General.

Helenus Scott, M.D., First Member of the Medical Board.

William Dowdeswell, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

Henry Salt, Esq. (now Consul-General in Egypt).

Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks (now Military Accountant General at Bombay).

Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Boden, Quartermaster General at Bombay.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Charlton Harris, Deputy Quartermaster General at Bombay.

Charles Forbes, Esq.

Robert Drummond, M.D.

Colonel Jasper Nicolls (now Quartermaster General in Bengal).

Major Edward Moor.

George Keir, M.D.

William Erskine, Esq.

*Sir James Mackintosh was elected President ; Charles
* vi Forbes, Esq., Treasurer ; and William Erskine, Esq.,
Secretary of the Society.

One of the earliest objects that engaged the attention of the Society was the foundation of a public library. On the 25th February 1805 a bargain was concluded for the purchase of a pretty extensive library which had been collected by several medical gentlemen of the Bombay establishment. This collection has since been much enlarged, and is yearly receiving very considerable additions : being thrown open with great readiness to all persons, whether members of the Society or not, it has already become of considerable public utility.

The idea of employing several members of the Society in collecting materials for a statistical account of Bombay having occurred to the President, he communicated to the Society a set of "Queries the answers to which would be contributions towards a statistical account of Bombay," and offered himself to superintend the whole of the undertaking : it is perhaps to be regretted that various circumstances prevented the execution of this plan. As these queries may be of service in forwarding any similar projects, they are subjoined to this volume in Appendix A.

Early in the year 1806 it was resolved, on the motion of the President, "That a proposition should be made to the Asiatic Society to undertake a subscription to create a fund for defraying the necessary expenses of publishing and translating such Sanskrit works as should most seem to deserve an English version, and for affording a reasonable recompense to the translators, where their situation might make it proper." The letter

that was in consequence addressed to the President of that Society will be found in Appendix B. The Asiatic Society having referred the consideration of the proposed plan to a committee, came to a resolution, in consequence of their report, to publish from time to time, in volumes distinct from the Asiatic Researches, translations of short works in the Sanskrit and other Oriental languages, with extracts and descriptive accounts of books of greater length. The plan of establishing by subscription a particular fund for translation was regarded as one that could not be successfully proposed.

In the close of the year 1811 the Society suffered a severe loss by the * departure of the President, Sir James Mackintosh, for Europe. Robert Stewart, Esq., was, on the 25th November, elected President in his place, and at the same meeting moved "That, as a mark of respect, the late President, Sir James Mackintosh, should be elected Honorary President of the Society,"—a proposition which was unanimously agreed to.

On the 13th February 1812 Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm was induced, by the universal feelings of regard entertained by the members of the Society towards the Honorary President, to move "That Sir James Mackintosh be requested to sit for a bust, to be placed in the Library of the Literary Society of Bombay, as a token of the respect and regard in which he is held by that body." And the motion being seconded by John Wedderburn, Esq., was unanimously agreed to, General Sir John Malcolm having been requested to furnish a copy of his address, for the purpose of its being inserted in the records of the Society. It is subjoined in Appendix C.

A communication having been made to the Society of an extract of a letter from William Bruce, Esq., the East India Company's Resident at Bushire, regarding a disease known among the wandering tribes of Persia contracted by such as

milk the cattle and sheep, and said to be a preventive of the small-pox ;—in order to give as much publicity as possible to the facts which it contains, for the purpose of encouraging further and more minute inquiry by professional men on a subject of so much importance, the extract is subjoined in Appendix D.

On the 31st January 1815 it was agreed, on the motion of Captain Basil Hall, of the Royal Navy, "That the Society should open a museum for receiving antiquities, specimens in natural history, the arts and mythology of the East." To this museum Captain Hall made a valuable present of specimens in mineralogy from various parts of the East Indies ; and reasonable hopes may be indulged that it will speedily be much enriched, and tend in some degree to remove one of the obstacles at present opposed to the study of natural history and mineralogy in this country.

The Society have also to acknowledge repeated valuable presents, chiefly of Oriental books, from the Government of Bombay.

*The liberality of Mr. Money in presenting the Society
 * viii with a valuable transit instrument affords some hopes of seeing at no very distant time the foundation of an observatory, the want of which, at so considerable a naval and commercial station as Bombay, has long been regretted. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council has shown his willingness to forward a plan, which has the improvement of scientific and nautical knowledge for its object, by recommending to the Court of Directors a communication made on the subject by the Literary Society of Bombay.

On the 27th June 1815 a translation made by Dr. John Taylor from the original Sanskrit of the Lilawati (a treatise on Hindu arithmetic and geometry) was read to the Society. The

Lilawati being a work which has frequently been called for by men of science in Europe, and it being desirable, for the sake of accuracy, that it should be printed under the eye of the learned translator, it was resolved that the work should be immediately printed at the expense of the Society under Dr. Taylor's superintendence ; and it has already made considerable progress in its way through the press.

Of the different papers in the following volume it is not necessary that anything should be said ; the author of each, as is understood in such miscellaneous publications, must be answerable for his separate work.

BOMBAY :

23rd September 1815.

	Page
DISCOURSE at the Opening of the Society. By Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, President	xiii
I. An Account of the Festival of Mamangom, as cele- brated on the Coast of Malabar. By FRANCIS WREDE, Esq. (afterwards Baron Wrede.) Communicated by the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN.....	1
II. Remarks upon the Temperature of the Island of Bombay during the years 1803 and 1804. By Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) JASPER NICOLLS	6
III. .Translations from the Chinese of two Edicts : the one relating to the Condemnation of certain Persons con- victed of Christianity, and the other concerning the Condemnation of certain Magistrates in the Province of Canton. By Sir GEORGE STAUNTON. With intro- ductory Remarks by the President, Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH	12
IV. Account of the Akhlauk-e-Nasiree, or Morals of Nasir, a celebrated Persian System of Ethics. By Lieutenant EDWARD FRISSELL, of the Bombay Es- tablishment	19
V. Account of the Caves in Salsette, illustrated with Drawings of the principal Figures and Caves. By HENRY SALT, Esq. (now Consul General in Egypt.)	44
VI. On the Similitude between the Gipsy and Hindo- stanee Languages. By Lieutenant FRANCIS IRVINE, of the Bengal Native Infantry	57
VII. Translations from the Persian, illustrative of the Opinions of the Sunni and Shia Sects of Mahomedans. By Brigadier-General Sir JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B. ...	71

	Page
VIII. A Treatise on Sufism, or Mahomedan Mysticism. By Lieutenant JAMES WILLIAM GRAHAM, Linguist to the 1st Battalion of the 6th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry	95
IX. Account of the Present compared with the Ancient State of Babylon. By Captain EDWARD FREDERICK, of the Bombay Establishment	129
X. Account of the Hill-Fort of Chapaneer in Guzerat. By Captain WILLIAM MILES, of the Bombay Establish- ment	150
XI. The fifth Sermon of Sadi, translated from the Persian. By JAMES ROSS, Esq., of the Bengal Medi- cal Establishment	157
*XII. Account of the Origin, History, and Manners of the race of men called Bunjaras. * x By Captain JOHN BRIGGS, Persian Interpreter to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force	170
XIII. An Account of the Parisnath-Gowricha wor- shipped in the Desert of Parkur; to which are added a few remarks upon the present mode of worship of that idol. By Lieutenant JAMES MACMURDO	198
XIV. Observations on two Sepulchral Urns found at Bushire in Persia. By WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.	206
XV. Account of the Cave-Temple of Elephanta, with a Plan and Drawings of the principal Figures. By WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.	214
XVI. Remarks on the Substance called Gez, or Manna, found in Persia and Armenia. By Captain EDWARD FREDERICK, of the Bombay Establishment	271
XVII. Remarks on the Province of Kattiwar; its Inhab- itants, their Manners and Customs. By Lieutenant JAMES MACMURDO, of the Bombay Establishment	283
XVIII. Account of the Cornelian Mines in the Neigh- bourhood of Baroach, in a Letter to the Secretary from JOHN COPLAND, Esq., of the Bombay Medical Establishment	313

	Page
XIX. Some Account of the Famine in Guzerat in the years 1812 and 1813, in a Letter to WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq. By Captain JAMES RIVETT CARNAC, Political Resident at the Court of the Guicawar	321
XX. Plan of a Comparative Vocabulary of Indian Languages. By Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, President of the Society	330
APPENDIX A. QUERIES to which the Answers will be Contributions towards a Statistical Account of Bombay	346
—————B. Letter of the President of the LITERARY SOCIETY of BOMBAY to the President of the ASIATIC SOCIETY.....	351
—————C. General Malcolm's Speech on moving that Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH be requested to sit for his Bust	356
—————D. Extract of a Letter from WILLIAM BRUCE, Esq., Resident at Bushire, to WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq., of Bombay, communicating the Discovery of a Disease in Persia contracted by such as milk the Cattle and Sheep, and which is a Preventive of the Small-pox	360
List of the Members of the Bombay Literary Society.....	362

* A DISCOURSE

* xi

AT THE OPENING OF

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

By SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

Read at Parcl, 26th November 1804.

GENTLEMEN,

The smallest society brought together by the love of knowledge is respectable in the eye of reason ; and the feeble efforts of infant literature in barren and inhospitable regions are in some respects more interesting than the most elaborate works and the most successful exertions of the human mind. They prove the diffusion at least, if not the advancement, of science ; and they afford some sanction to the hope that knowledge is destined one day to visit the whole earth, and in her beneficent progress to illuminate and humanize the whole race of man.

It is therefore with singular pleasure that I see a small but respectable body of men assembled here by such a principle. I hope that we agree in considering all Europeans who visit remote countries, whatever their separate pursuits may be, as detachments from the main body of civilized men sent out to levy contributions of knowledge, as well as to gain victories over barbarism.

When a large portion of a country so interesting as India fell into the hands of one of the most intelligent and inquisitive nations of the world, it was natural to expect that its ancient and present state should at last be fully disclosed. These expectations were indeed for a time disap*pointed: during the tumult of revolution and war it would have been unreasonable * xii to have entertained them ; and when tranquillity was

established in that country, which continues to be the centre of the British power in Asia, it ought not to have been forgotten that every Englishman was fully occupied by commerce, by military service, or by administration; that we had among us no idle public of readers, and consequently no separate profession of writers; and that every hour bestowed on study was to be stolen from the leisure of men often harassed by business, enervated by the climate, and more disposed to seek amusement than new occupation in the intervals of their appointed toils. It is, besides, a part of our national character that we are seldom eager to display, and not always ready to communicate, what we have acquired. In this respect we differ considerably from other lettered nations: our ingenious and polite neighbours on the continent of Europe,—to whose enjoyment the applause of others seems more indispensable, whose faculties are more nimble and restless, if not more vigorous, than ours,—are neither so patient of repose, nor so likely to be contented with a secret hoard of knowledge. They carry even into their literature a spirit of bustle and parade,—a bustle indeed which springs from activity, and a parade which animates enterprise, but which are incompatible with our sluggish and sullen dignity. Pride disdains ostentation, scorns false pretensions, despises even petty merit, refuses to obtain the objects of pursuit by flattery or importunity, and scarcely values any praise but that which she has the right to command. Pride, with which foreigners charge us, and which under the name of a sense of dignity we claim for ourselves; is a lazy and unsocial quality, and in these respects, as in most others, the very reverse of the sociable and good-humoured vice of vanity. It is not therefore to be wondered at if in India our national character, coöperating with local circumstances, should have produced some real, and perhaps more apparent, inactivity in working the mine of knowledge of which we had become the masters. Yet some of the earliest exertions of private Englishmen are too important to be passed over in silence. The compilation of laws by Mr. Halhed, and the Ayeen Akbarce translated by Mr. Gladwin, deserve * xiii * honourable mention. Mr. Wilkins gained the memor-

able distinction of having opened the treasures of a new learned language to Europe.

But, notwithstanding the merit of these individual exertions, it cannot be denied that the era of a general direction of the minds of Englishmen in this country towards learned inquiry was the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones. To give such an impulse to the public understanding is one of the greatest benefits that a man can confer on his fellow-men. On such an occasion as the present it is impossible to pronounce the name of Sir William Jones without feelings of gratitude and reverence. He was among the distinguished persons who adorned one of the brightest periods of English literature. It was no mean distinction to be conspicuous in the age of Burke and Johnson, of Hume and Smith, of Gray and Goldsmith, of Gibbon and Robertson, of Reynolds and Garrick. It was the fortune of Sir William Jones to have been the friend of the greater part of these illustrious men. Without him the age in which he lived would have been inferior to past times in one kind of literary glory. He surpassed all his contemporaries, and perhaps even the most laborious scholars of the two former centuries, in extent and variety of attainment. His facility in acquiring was almost prodigious, and he possessed that faculty of arranging and communicating his knowledge which these laborious scholars very generally wanted. Erudition, which in them was often disorderly and rugged, and had something of an illiberal and almost barbarous air, was by him presented to the world with all the elegance and amenity of polite literature. Though he seldom directed his mind to those subjects of which the successful investigation confers the name of a philosopher, yet he possessed in a very eminent degree that habit of disposing his knowledge in regular and analytical order which is one of the properties of a philosophical understanding. His talents as an elegant writer in verse were among his instruments for attaining knowledge, and a new example of the variety of his accomplishments. In his easy and flowing prose we justly admire that order of exposition and transparency of language which are * the most indispensable *xiv

qualities of style, and the chief excellencies of which it is capable when it is employed solely to instruct. His writings everywhere breathe pure taste in morals as well as in literature; and it may be said with truth that not a single sentiment has escaped him which does not indicate the real elegance and dignity which pervaded the most secret recesses of his mind. He had lived perhaps too exclusively in the world of learning for the cultivation of his practical understanding. Other men have meditated more deeply on the constitution of society, and have taken more comprehensive views of its complicated relations and infinitely varied interests. Others have therefore often taught sounder principles of political science; but no man more warmly felt, and no author is better calculated to inspire, those generous sentiments of liberty without which the most just principles are useless and lifeless, and which will, I trust, continue to flow through the channels of eloquence and poetry into the minds of British youth.

It has indeed been sometimes lamented that Sir William Jones should have exclusively directed inquiry towards antiquities. But every man must be allowed to recommend most strongly his own favourite pursuits; and the chief difficulty as well as the chief merit is his who first raises the minds of men to the love of any part of knowledge. When mental activity is once roused its direction is easily changed, and the excesses of one writer, if they are not checked by public reason, are corrected by the opposite excesses of his successor. "Whatever withdraws us from the dominion of the senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, and the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."

It is not for me to attempt an estimate of those exertions for the advancement of knowledge which have arisen from the example and exhortations of Sir William Jones. In all judgments pronounced on our contemporaries it is so certain that we shall be accused, and so probable that we may be justly accused, of either partially bestowing or invidiously withholding praise, that it is in general better to attempt no encroachment on
 * xv the jurisdiction of time, which alone impartially and justly

estimates the works of men. But it would be unpardonable not to speak of the College at Calcutta, of which the original plan was doubtless the most magnificent attempt ever made for the promotion of learning in the East. I am not conscious that I am biassed, either by personal feelings or literary prejudices, when I say that I consider that original plan as a wise and noble proposition, of which the adoption in its full extent would have had the happiest tendency to secure the good government of India, as well as to promote the interest of science. Even in its present mutilated state we have seen, at the last public exhibition, Sanskrit declamations by English youth—a circumstance so extraordinary† that, if it be followed by suitable advances, it will mark an epoch in the history of learning. Among the humblest fruits of this spirit I take the liberty to mention the project of forming this Society, which occurred to me before I left England, but which never could have advanced even to its present state without your hearty concurrence, and which must depend on your active coöperation for all hopes of future success. You will not suspect me of presuming to dictate the nature and object of our common exertions. To be valuable they must be spontaneous; and no literary society can subsist on any other principle than that of equality. In the observations which I shall make on the plan and subject of our inquiries, I shall offer myself to you only as the representative of the curiosity of Europe. I am ambitious of no higher office than that of faithfully conveying to India the desires and wants of the learned at home, and of stating the subjects on which they wish and expect satisfaction from inquiries which can be pursued only in India. In fulfilling the duties of this mission, I shall not be expected to exhaust so vast a subject, nor is it necessary that I should attempt an exact distribution of science. A very general sketch is all that I can promise, in which I shall pass over many subjects rapidly, * and * xvi

† It must be remembered that this Discourse was read in 1804. In the present year, 1818, this circumstance could no longer be called extraordinary. From the learned care of Mr. Hamilton, late Professor of Indian Languages at the East India College, a proficiency in Sanskrit is become not uncommon in an European institution.

dwelt only on those parts on which, from my own habits of study, I may think myself least disqualified to offer useful suggestions.

The objects of these inquiries, as of all human knowledge, are reducible to two classes, which, for want of more significant and precise terms, we must be content to call Physical and Moral, aware of the laxity and ambiguity of these words, but not affecting a greater degree of exactness than is necessary for our immediate purpose.

The *physical sciences* afford so easy and pleasing an amusement, they are so directly subservient to the useful arts, and in their higher forms they so much delight our imagination, and flatter our pride by the display of the authority of man over nature, that there can be no need of arguments to prove their utility, and no want of powerful and obvious motives to dispose men to their cultivation. The whole extensive and beautiful science of *natural history*, which is the foundation of all physical knowledge, has many additional charms in a country where so many treasures must still be unexplored. The science of *mineralogy*, which has been of late years cultivated with great activity in Europe, has such a palpable connection with the useful arts of life that it cannot be necessary to recommend it to the attention of the intelligent and curious. India is a country which I believe no mineralogist has yet examined, and which would doubtless amply repay the labour of the first scientific adventurers who explore it. The discovery of new sources of wealth would probably be the result of such an investigation, and something might perhaps be contributed towards the accomplishment of the ambitious projects of those philosophers who from the arrangement of earths and minerals have been bold enough to form conjectures respecting the general laws which have governed the past revolutions of our planet, and which preserve its parts in their present order.

The *botany* of India has been less neglected, but it cannot be exhausted. The higher parts of the science,—the structure, the functions, the habits of *vegetables,—all subjects intimately connected with the first of physical sciences, though
 * xvii unfortunately the most dark and difficult, the philosophy

of life,—have in general been too much sacrificed to objects of value indeed, but of a value far inferior : and professed botanists have usually contented themselves with observing enough of plants to give them a name in their scientific language and a place in their artificial arrangement. Much information also remains to be gleaned on that part of natural history which regards animals. The manners of many tropical races must have been imperfectly observed in a few individuals separated from their fellows and imprisoned in the unfriendly climate of Europe.

The variations of temperature, the state of the atmosphere, all the appearances that are comprehended under the words *weather* and *climate*, are the conceivable subjects of a science of which no rudiments yet exist. It will probably require the observations of centuries to lay the foundations of theory on this subject. There can scarce be any region of the world more favourably circumstanced for observation than India ; for there is none in which the operation of these causes is more regular, more powerful, or more immediately discoverable in their effect on vegetable and animal nature. Those philosophers who have denied the influence of climate on the human character were not inhabitants of a tropical country.

To the members of the learned profession of medicine, who are necessarily spread over every part of India, all the above inquiries peculiarly, though not exclusively, belong. Some of them are eminent for science, many must be well-informed, and their professional education must have given to all some tincture of physical knowledge. With even moderate preliminary acquirements they may be very useful, if they will but consider themselves as philosophical collectors, whose duty it is never to neglect a favourable opportunity for observations on weather and climate ; to keep exact journals of whatever they observe, and to transmit through their immediate superiors to the scientific depositories of Great Britain *specimens of every * xviii mineral, vegetable, or animal production which they conceive to be singular, or with respect to which they suppose themselves to have observed any new and important facts. If their previous studies have been imperfect, they will no doubt

be sometimes mistaken. But these mistakes are perfectly harmless. It is better that ten useless specimens should be sent to London than that one curious specimen should be neglected.

But it is on another and a still more important subject that we expect the most valuable assistance from our medical associates : this is the science of medicine itself. It must be allowed not to be quite so certain as it is important. But though every man ventures to scoff at its uncertainty as long as he is in vigorous health, yet the hardest sceptic becomes credulous as soon as his head is fixed to the pillow. Those who examine the history of medicine without either scepticism or blind admiration will find that every civilized age, after all the fluctuations of systems, opinions, and modes of practice, has at length left some balance, however small, of new truth to the succeeding generation, and that the stock of human knowledge in this as well as in other departments is constantly though, it must be owned, very slowly increasing. Since my arrival here I have had sufficient reason to believe that the practitioners of medicine in India are not unworthy of their enlightened and benevolent profession. From them, therefore, I hope the public may derive, through the medium of this society, information of the highest value. Diseases and modes of cure unknown to European physicians may be disclosed to them ; and if the causes of disease are more active in this country than in England, remedies are employed and diseases subdued, at least in some cases, with a certainty which might excite the wonder of the most successful practitioners in Europe. By full and faithful narratives of their modes of treatment they will conquer that distrust of new plans of cure, and that incredulity respecting whatever is uncommon, which sometimes prevail among our

English physicians, which are the natural result of much
 * xix experience and many disappointments ; and which, though individuals have often just reason to complain of their indiscriminate application, are not ultimately injurious to the progress of the medical art. They never finally prevent the adoption of just theory or of useful practice. They retard it no longer than is necessary for such a severe trial as precludes all future

doubt. Even in their excess they are wholesome correctives of the opposite excess of credulity and dogmatism. They are safeguards against exaggeration and quackery; they are tests of utility and truth. A philosophical physician who is a real lover of his art ought not, therefore, to desire the extinction of these dispositions, though he may suffer temporary injustice from their influence.

Those objects of our inquiries which I have called *moral* (employing that term in the sense in which it is contradistinguished from *physical*) will chiefly comprehend the past and present condition of the inhabitants of the vast country which surrounds us.

To begin with their present condition. I take the liberty of very earnestly recommending a kind of research which has hitherto been either neglected, or only carried on for the information of Government—I mean the investigation of those facts which are the subjects of political arithmetic and statistics, and which are a part of the foundation of the science of political economy. The numbers of the people; the number of births, marriages, and deaths; the proportion of children who are reared to maturity; the distribution of the people according to their occupations and castes, and especially according to the great division of agricultural and manufacturing; and the relative state of these circumstances at different periods, which can only be ascertained by permanent tables,—are the basis of this important part of knowledge. No tables of political arithmetic have yet been made public from any tropical country. I need not expatiate on the importance of the information which such tables would be likely to afford. I shall mention only as an example of their value that they must lead to a decisive solution of the problems with respect to the influence of polygamy on population, and * the supposed origin of * xx that practice in the disproportioned number of the sexes.† But in a country where every part of the system of manners and institutions differs from those of Europe it is

† See Appendix A at the end of the volume.

impossible to foresee the extent and variety of the new results which an accurate survey might present to us.

These inquiries are naturally followed by those which regard the subsistence of the people; the origin and distribution of public wealth; the wages of every kind of labour, from the rudest to the most refined; the price of commodities, and especially of provisions, which necessarily regulates that of all others; the modes of the tenure and occupation of land; the profits of trade; the usual and extraordinary rates of interest which are the price paid for the hire of money; the nature and extent of domestic commerce, everywhere the greatest and the most profitable, though the most difficult to be ascertained; those of foreign traffic, more easy to be determined by the accounts of exports and imports; the contributions by which the expenses of Government, of charitable, learned, and religious foundations are defrayed; the laws and customs which regulate all these great objects, and the fluctuation which has been observed in all or any of them at different times and under different circumstances. These are some of the points towards which I should very earnestly wish to direct the curiosity of our intelligent countrymen in India.

These inquiries have the advantage of being easy, and open to all men of good sense. They do not, like antiquarian and philological researches, require great previous erudition, and constant reference to extensive libraries. They require nothing but a resolution to observe facts attentively, and to relate them accurately. And whoever feels a disposition to ascend from facts to principles will in general find sufficient aid to his understanding in the great work of Dr. Smith, the most permanent monument of philosophical genius which our nation has produced in the present age.

* xxi * They have the further advantage of being closely and intimately connected with the professional pursuits and public duties of every Englishman who fills a civil office in this country—they form the very science of administration. One of the first requisites to the right administration of a district is the knowledge of its population, industry, and wealth. A ma-

gistrate ought to know the condition of the country which he superintends; a collector ought to understand its revenue; a commercial resident ought to be thoroughly acquainted with its commerce. We only desire that part of the knowledge which they ought to possess should be communicated to the world.

I will not pretend to affirm that no part of this knowledge ought to be confined to Government. I am not so intoxicated by philosophical prejudice as to maintain that the safety of a state is to be endangered for the gratification of scientific curiosity. Though I am far from thinking that this is the department in which secrecy is most useful, yet I do not presume to exclude it. But let it be remembered that whatever information is thus confined to a government may for all purposes of science be supposed not to exist. As long as the secrecy is thought important, it is of course shut up from most of those who could turn it to best account; and when it ceases to be guarded with jealousy it is as effectually secured from all useful examination by the mass of official lumber under which it is usually buried. For this reason after a very short time it is as much lost to the Government itself as it is to the public. A transient curiosity, or the necessity of illustrating some temporary matter, may induce a public officer to dig for knowledge under the heaps of rubbish that encumber his office. But I have myself known intelligent public officers content themselves with the very inferior information contained in printed books, while their shelves groaned under the weight of MSS. which would be more instructive, if they could be read. Further, it must be observed that publication is always the best security to a government that they are not deceived by the reports of their servants; and where these servants act at a distance the importance of such a security for their veracity is very great. For *the truth of a manuscript *xxii report they never can have a better warrant than the honesty of one servant who prepares it, and of another who examines it. But for the truth of all long-uncontested narratives of important facts in printed accounts, published in countries

where they may be contradicted, we have the silent testimony of every man who might be prompted by interest, prejudice, or humour to dispute them if they were not true.

I have already said that all communications merely made to Government are lost to science; while, on the other hand, perhaps the knowledge communicated to the public is that of which a government may most easily avail itself, and on which it may most securely rely. This loss to science is very great: for the principles of political economy have been investigated in Europe, and the application of them to such a country as India must be one of the most curious tests which could be contrived of their truth and universal operation. Everything here is new; and if they are found here also to be the true principles of natural subsistence and wealth, it will be no longer possible to dispute that they are the general laws which everywhere govern this important part of the movements of the social machine.

It has been lately observed that "if the various states of Europe kept and published annually an exact account of their population, noting carefully in a second column the exact age at which the children die, this second column would show the relative merit of the governments and the comparative happiness of their subjects. A simple arithmetical statement would then perhaps be more conclusive than all the arguments which could be produced." I agree with the ingenious writers who have suggested this idea, and I think it must appear perfectly evident that the number of children reared to maturity must be among the tests of the happiness of a society; though the number of children born cannot be so considered, and is often the companion and one of the causes of public misery. It may be affirmed without the risk of exaggeration that every accurate com-

parison of the state of different countries at the same
* xxiii time, * or of the same country at different times, is an

approach to that state of things in which the manifest palpable interest of every government will be the prosperity of its subjects, which never has been, and which never will be, advanced by any other means than those of humanity and justice.

The prevalence of justice would not indeed be universally ensured by such a conviction ; for bad governments, as well as bad men, as often act against their own obvious interest as against that of others ; but the chances of tyranny must be diminished when tyrants are compelled to see that it is folly. In the mean time the ascertainment of every new fact, the discovery of every new principle, and even the diffusion of principles known before, add to that great body of slowly and reasonably formed public opinion, which, however weak at first, must at last, with a gentle and scarcely sensible coercion, compel every government to pursue its own real interest.

This knowledge is a control on subordinate agents for Government, as well as a control on Government for their subjects. And it is one of those which have not the slightest tendency to produce tumult or convulsion. On the contrary, nothing more clearly evinces the necessity of that firm protecting power by which alone order can be secured. The security of the governed cannot exist without the security of the governors.

Lastly, of all kinds of knowledge, political economy has the greatest tendency to promote quiet and safe improvement in the general condition of mankind ; because it shows that improvement is the interest of the government, and that stability is the interest of the people. The extraordinary and unfortunate events of our times have indeed damped the sanguine hopes of good men, and filled them with doubt and fear. But in all possible cases the counsels of this science are at least safe. They are adapted to all forms of government ; they require only a wise and just administration. They require as the first principle of all prosperity that perfect security of persons and property which can only exist where the supreme authority is stable.

* On these principles nothing can be a means of im- * xxiv
provement which is not also a means of preservation. It is not only absurd, but contradictory, to speak of sacrificing the present generation for the sake of posterity. The moral order of the world is not so disposed. It is impossible to promote the

interest of future generations by any measures injurious to the present; and he who labours industriously to promote the honour, the safety, and the prosperity of his own country by innocent and lawful means may be assured that he is contributing, probably as much as the order of nature will permit a private individual, towards the welfare of all mankind.

These hopes of improvement have survived in my breast all the calamities of our European world, and are not extinguished by that general condition of national insecurity which is the most formidable enemy of improvement. Founded on such principles, they are at least perfectly innocent. They are such as, even if they were visionary, an admirer or cultivator of letters ought to be pardoned for cherishing. Without them literature and philosophy can claim no more than the highest rank among the amusements and ornaments of human life. With these hopes they assume the dignity of being part of that discipline under which the race of man is destined to proceed to the highest degree of civilization, virtue, and happiness of which our nature is capable.

On a future occasion I may have the honour to lay before you my thoughts on the principal objects of inquiry in the geography, ancient and modern, the languages, the literature, the necessary and elegant arts, the religion, the authentic history and the antiquities of India, and on the mode in which such inquiries appear to me most likely to be conducted with success.

NOTE

' xxv

ON

"PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE."

[See page xxi.,—pages xix, xx. of former edition.]

POPULATION OF BOMBAY.

THE public has hitherto received little authentic information respecting the population of tropical countries. The following documents may therefore be acceptable, as contributions towards our scanty stock of knowledge on a subject which is curious and not unimportant.

No. I. is an account of the deaths in the island of Bombay from the year 1801 to the year 1808 inclusive, founded on returns made to the Police Office of the number of bodies buried or burnt in the island. These returns being made by native officers, subject to no very efficient check, may be considered as liable to considerable errors of negligence and incorrectness, though exempt from those of intentional falsehood.

The average deaths during the year would by this account be nine thousand; but the year 1804, in which the deaths are nearly trebled, was a season of famine throughout the neighbouring provinces on the continent of India. Great multitudes sought refuge from death at Bombay; but many of them arrived in too exhausted a state to be saved by the utmost exertions of humanity and skill. This calamity began to affect the mortality in 1803, and its effects are visible in the deaths of 1805.

No. II. is an account of the Mussulman population, distinguishing the sexes, and conveying some information respecting their age, occupation, and domestic condition. This document and that which follows are the more important because we have only conjectural estimates of the whole population of the island, which vary from a hundred and sixty to a hundred and eighty thousand souls. By comparing the Mahomedan deaths, on an

average, for the three years 1806, 1807, and 1808, as collected from No. I., with the whole number of Mahomedans in this account, the deaths of the members of that sect appear to be to their whole numbers as 1 to $17\frac{1}{4}$.

*xxvi *No. III. is an account of the total number of Parsee inhabitants, distinguishing sexes and age. From the same comparison as that stated in No. II. it appears that the deaths of the Parsees are nearly as 1 to 24.

Nos. IV., V., VI., and VII. contain accounts of population, births, and deaths of native Christians from four of the parishes into which the island is divided. Their baptismal registers furnish an account of the number of births, which we have no easy and precise mode of ascertaining among the other inhabitants. Their account of deaths is also some check on that part of the general register of deaths which relates to them; and their returns of the population are a further aid towards the formation of a general rate of mortality. In No. IV. the births are to the population as 1 to 28, the deaths as 1 to 20. In No. V. the births as 1 to 20, deaths as 1 to 16. In No. VI. births 1 to 30, deaths 1 to 15. In No. VII. births 1 to 43, deaths 1 to 22.

These proportions of births and deaths to population differ very considerably from each other, and some of them deviate widely from the result of the like inquiries in most other places. It is not easy to determine how far inaccuracy may have contributed to this deviation. The education of the native Roman Catholic clergy of Bombay is almost exclusively confined to monastic theology and ethics; even their respectable European superiors are fully occupied by their ecclesiastical duties, and are little accustomed to political arithmetic. On the other hand it must be remembered that at Bombay a population of 150,000 souls is confined to an island which is only eight miles in length and three miles in its utmost breadth. Such a population with so limited a space must be considered rather as that of a town than of a district of country. It is to be expected, or at least not to be wondered at, that it should not maintain itself without the influx of inhabitants from the neighbour-

ing provinces. The very small proportions of births in No. VII. probably arises in part from the number of adventurous strangers who resort to the most thickly peopled part of the island; while the three former returns, which relate to places where the Christians are native inhabitants, show a proportion of births by no means so singular. That the proportion of deaths in No. VII. is the least among the Christian returns is in all likelihood to be ascribed to the easy circumstances of many of the members of that congregation, the Christians of the other parishes being chiefly of the very lowest classes. Of the high rate of mortality in Nos. V. and VI. which relate to two small fishing villages, no specious explanation presents itself:—of that, and indeed of every other part of the subject, we must expect explanations from the enlightened and accomplished men on the spot, who now possess * xxvii better means of investigation than were in such hands when these imperfect returns were procured.

It must be observed that many of the Parsees come to Bombay in search of fortune after having reached the age of manhood, and return with a competency to their native countries. Some of them are men of great wealth; many are in easy circumstances; and none are of the most indigent classes. From these circumstances the comparatively low rate of their mortality and the smaller number of their females will be easily understood. The famine increased their mortality from 311 in 1802 to 563 in 1804, an augmentation almost entirely to be attributed to deaths of the fugitive Parsees, who were attracted to Bombay by the well-known charity of their opulent fellow-religionists.

The Mahomedans are much inferior in fortune to the Parsees; but they are not much engaged in the lowest sorts of labour, which are chiefly performed by the inferior castes of Hindus, and by some of the native Christians. The famine increased the deaths of the Mahomedans from 1,099 in 1802 to 2,645 in 1804.

. Of the Hindus, who form the great body of the people, we have, unfortunately, no enumeration; but the return of their deaths has one observable peculiarity. In the higher castes

the bodies are burnt; in the lower they are buried. Though there be many individuals of the higher castes who occupy very humble stations, and are of what a European would call very low rank, there are scarcely any of the lowest castes in conditions of ease, not to say affluence:—burning or burial affords, therefore, some criterion of their situation in life. The famine increased their mortality from 3,669 in 1802 to 23,179 in 1804. Their deaths were augmented more than six-fold. But the different degree in which the famine acted on the women and children of the higher and lower castes is very striking. The deaths of the females of the higher castes are increased very little more than those of the men; the mortality of children is still less increased; but among the inferior castes the mortality of women is increased fifteen times, and that of children nearly twelve times.

On the native Christians the operation of the famine was only to increase the burials from 184 to 201. This small increase probably affected only the poorest native Christians of Bombay; for there are very few Christians in the neighbouring province where the famine raged, and which poured into the island that crowd of fugitives which swelled the Hindu deaths to so tremendous an amount.

One of the most curious results which these documents afford is that relating to the proportions of the two sexes, *xxviii and to the extent in which polygamy prevails *in India.

An illustrious philosopher, † misled by travellers too much disposed to make general inferences from a few peculiar cases, and pleased to discover a seeming solution of the repugnant systems of domestic life adopted in Europe and in Asia, supposes the polygamy of Eastern nations to be the natural consequence of the superabundance of women produced in warm climates. Mr. Bruce attempts to support this theory by a statement of a most extraordinary nature. According to him, in Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria the proportion of births is two women (*and a small fraction*) to one man; from Latakia to

† *De l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xvi., chap. 4.

Sidon it is two and *three-fourths* to one man; from Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel the proportion is fully four to one man, which he believes holds as far as the Line and 30° beyond it.† The confidence with which a private traveller makes a statement so minute respecting such countries is sufficient to deprive it of all authority. Without imputing intentional falsehood to Mr. Bruce (which seems foreign to his character), this statement may be quoted as an instance of that dogmatism, credulity, ostentation, and loose recollection which have thrown an unmerited suspicion over the general veracity of one of the most enterprising of travellers as well as amusing of writers. It is singular that reflections of a very obvious sort did not check such statements and speculations. In a country where there were four women to one man, it is evident that nothing less than the practice of polygamy to the full extent of Mahomet's permission could have provided for the surplus of females; but it ought to have been almost equally evident that to support more than one wife and family must be beyond the power of the laborious and indigent classes. Though the necessaries of life be fewer, and attainable with less labour, in warm than in cold climates, the effects of bad government more than counterbalance the bounty of nature. To suppose that an Egyptian fellah could support three or four times as many women and children by his industry as a French or English labourer would be the height of extravagance. Polygamy must in the nature of things be confined to the rich, and must therefore depend not on physical causes, but on those tyrannical systems of government which, sanctioned by base superstitions, have doomed one-half of the human race to imprisonment and slavery. But facts are more important than any reasonings, however conclusive. By the report of Mr. Ravenshaw, contained in the very instructive Travels of Dr. Francis Buchanan,‡ we learn that in the southern part of the province of Canara the whole number of inhabitants was * 396,672, of whom the *xxix males were 206,633, the females 190,039. The same

† *Travels*, ii. 181, 2nd edition.

‡ *Fran. Buch. Mysore*, iii. 8.

excess of males above females is, he tells us, to be found in the Barra Mahl and other parts of the peninsula where accurate enumerations have been made. The return of deaths in the island of Bombay for nearly eight years establishes the same fact with respect to the whole population, and to each of the classes which compose it.

It is well known that the Mahomedans are the only class of men in India who practise polygamy to any considerable extent. Out of 20,000 Mahomedans in the island of Bombay only about 100 have two wives, and only five have three : so inconsiderable is the immediate practical result of a system which, in its principles and indirect consequences, produces more evil than perhaps any other human institution—so insignificant is the number of those for whose imagined gratification so immense a body of reasonable beings are degraded and enslaved.

It is remarkable that the only apparent superiority of the number of females is in some of the returns of the Christian congregations, where polygamy is of course unknown. It is reasonable to refer this small exception to accidental causes, which further inquiry will probably discover.

In all the other castes the equality of the sexes apparent in the list of burials is a sufficient proof against the prevalence of polygamy, since it is well known how few natives of India are unmarried.

Polygamy arises from tyranny, not from climate ;—it degrades all women for the sake of a very few men. And the frame of society has confined its practice within such narrow limits that it never can oppose any serious obstacle to beneficial changes in the moral habits, domestic relations, and religious opinions of the natives of India.

* No. 1.

* xxx

*Register of Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the Island of
Bombay from the year 1800 to the year 1808 inclusive.*

ABSTRACT.

In the year 1801	...	...	...	...	4,835
1802	...	...	...	...	5,297
1803	...	...	...	...	8,320
1804	...	...	...	...	25,834
1805	...	...	...	...	10,347
1806	...	...	...	...	6,440
1807	...	...	...	...	5,834
1808	...	...	...	...	7,517

Register of the Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the year 1800.

In the year 1800.	Hindoos buried.			Hindoos burnt.			Mussul- mans buried.			Parsees.			Esraïl* buried.			Chris- tians buried.			Total.
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	
From 26th to the 30th of Septem- ber.....	11	11	11	12	1	...	6	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59
October ...	100	38	124	83	48	14	50	26	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	493
November.	75	43	126	68	43	13	46	19	28	10	...	10	...	1	...	5	4	13	504
December.	105	72	107	77	47	14	83	36	18	10	...	8	...	...	...	6	4	10	547
	291	164	368	240	139	41	135	87	57	20	...	18	...	1	...	11	8	23	1603

* Jews.

* xxxi * *Register of the Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the years 1801 and 1802.*

In the year 1801.	Hindoos buried.			Hindoos burut.			Mussul- mans buried.			Parsees.			Fsrail buried			Chris- tians buried.			Total.
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	
January ...	77	50	117	59	48	29	32	21	45	9	10	10	1	1	1	11	7	13	541
February...	56	29	90	42	33	33	37	25	29	7	11	15	...	...	...	1	11	9	445
March	38	39	160	57	40	43	34	20	37	5	5	28	...	...	...	2	8	4	534
April	37	27	188	39	24	43	27	25	38	8	3	33	...	...	...	1	5	8	521
May	38	29	157	40	21	24	26	25	43	9	3	36	2	1	2	9	5	7	477
June	31	27	120	29	18	21	16	11	32	4	2	19	2	1	4	8	4	4	353
July	31	36	68	43	28	25	18	23	23	7	3	13	...	...	...	1	7	2	332
August ...	19	30	74	37	32	21	29	15	35	10	2	10	...	...	...	2	8	7	337
September.	27	26	63	42	37	19	23	12	13	1	...	...	9	7	12	6	7	5	309
October ...	31	30	58	38	31	9	25	20	21	...	1	1	8	5	9	5	2	4	298
November.	30	30	47	48	28	16	30	23	16	2	...	...	2	1	13	6	6	4	302
December.	43	38	69	51	37	19	41	16	27	...	...	1	7	7	8	9	12	1	386
	458	391	1217	525	377	302	338	236	359	62	40	166	31	24	60	96	70	83	4,835
In the year 1802.																			
January ...	35	27	77	45	40	18	28	22	33	13	6	16	...	...	...	1	10	3	378
February...	36	25	76	56	27	26	29	15	21	9	2	14	...	...	...	7	6	7	356
March	47	34	88	46	29	18	30	18	35	10	9	19	...	...	...	11	8	10	404
April	31	26	89	40	22	28	30	22	27	5	4	15	...	...	...	1	2	6	351
May	62	41	93	71	41	36	44	25	35	7	3	7	1	1	1	7	10	3	488
June	67	50	130	49	44	24	23	27	37	10	4	11	...	...	...	2	7	3	496
July	59	36	140	39	29	33	38	29	52	11	4	14	1	2	4	4	4	4	503
August	47	35	95	48	42	22	41	22	40	5	6	18	2	2	1	3	11	7	447
September.	54	40	99	67	48	35	43	27	31	12	4	16	1	2	1	5	7	2	496
October ...	53	37	102	55	40	35	36	26	29	4	4	12	...	...	...	1	2	4	442
November.	63	50	119	57	37	21	28	38	32	6	5	15	2	...	...	1	2	5	483
December.	58	47	120	53	32	19	32	34	20	8	4	8	...	...	...	2	1	5	453
	612	448	1234	626	431	315	402	305	392	100	55	156	7	15	13	64	65	55	5,297

Register of the Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the * xxxii
years 1803 and 1804.

In the year 1803.	Hindoos buried.			Hindoos burnt.			Mussul- mans buried.			Parsees.			Esraill buried.		Chris- tians buried.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
January ...	64	52	130	68	55	28	30	34	26	10	5	14	...	1	5	7	543
February ...	73	52	20	62	49	131	33	17	29	4	7	8	2	2	2	2	504
March ...	83	68	36	95	76	175	59	35	31	7	5	6	1	...	3	5	689
April ...	99	58	35	79	69	204	47	50	52	6	4	19	2	1	...	6	736
May ...	84	63	52	99	79	241	39	40	41	4	2	19	...	...	7	6	794
June ...	72	64	43	97	97	223	39	36	54	7	7	10	2	...	2	3	764
July ...	82	54	37	86	67	210	47	43	43	7	15	17	...	...	4	5	725
August ...	87	70	47	107	96	221	53	55	52	11	13	18	...	1	1	2	852
September.	83	67	50	133	106	187	46	43	43	6	7	12	...	3	...	5	798
October.	76	59	37	117	109	136	46	44	36	7	9	10	...	2	6	5	695
November..	70	60	40	83	82	121	48	39	34	5	8	18	...	1	2	4	625
December.	72	52	40	83	76	120	38	31	33	3	10	15	1	3	1	4	595
	945	719	567	1109	952	2000	531	467	474	77	92	161	8	12	25	53	8,320
In the year 1804.																	
January ...	87	53	43	83	82	121	33	29	24	5	9	13	3	1	...	3	600
February...	152	105	189	76	56	50	44	41	36	12	9	40	...	1	...	4	836
March ...	89	69	64	193	136	247	50	46	46	10	13	39	...	...	4	6	1,016
April ...	305	222	426	107	65	59	54	47	52	6	14	28	1	...	4	5	1,468
May ...	78	53	38	404	267	564	61	55	47	9	8	15	1	2	3	8	1,628
June ...	80	60	38	510	370	575	62	59	57	5	10	28	...	1	...	5	1,874
July ...	100	66	57	852	656	807	91	88	84	9	17	24	4	...	2	7	2,877
August ...	109	102	88	1228	924	947	102	108	112	12	9	37	1	...	1	9	3,797
September.	402	285	208	1046	839	821	104	100	101	10	14	16	1	...	4	6	3,968
October ...	598	492	250	611	566	546	115	106	103	19	6	18	...	...	3	4	3,440
November.	358	294	168	401	374	378	107	103	105	28	11	18	4	1	2	4	2,360
December.	323	260	146	343	328	295	99	90	78	20	13	13	2	1	6	6	2,030
	2672	2062	1715	5857	4603	5410	928	872	845	145	133	285	17	7	22	63	25,834

* xxxiii * *Register of the Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the years 1805 and 1806.* •

In the year 1805.	Hindoos burnt.			Hindoos buried.			Mussul- man's buried.			Parsees.			Esraïl buried.			Chris- tians buried.			Total.
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	
January ...	263	191	81	283	189	206	97	73	69	13	11	16	4	2	8	5	5	4	1,520
February...	81	65	37	282	201	193	59	45	54	12	16	13	2	2	2	1	1	3	1,075
March	70	55	26	258	202	190	47	48	50	13	13	25	6	2	...	4	1	4	1,023
April	76	56	45	213	156	195	49	42	36	11	11	32	3	3	2	4	3	3	940
May	58	44	31	175	149	168	45	37	35	12	15	27	1	2	2	2	1	2	806
June	41	23	9	186	110	128	44	27	32	14	4	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	635
July	52	53	23	179	135	156	44	33	26	9	13	15	1	2	2	9	9	7	771
August ...	55	41	31	190	132	113	54	33	37	8	7	27	1	...	...	4	6	3	772
September.	59	47	30	167	135	135	43	44	38	7	4	22	3	2	...	3	6	8	739
October ...	62	59	26	151	129	155	50	38	25	6	6	23	...	...	...	4	5	6	745
November.	50	35	19	145	128	117	44	32	35	16	7	13	1	3	...	5	4	2	656
December.	63	54	25	138	110	118	36	33	38	12	13	12	1	1	...	6	2	3	665
	933	723	385	2357	1776	1910	612	487	475	133	120	241	26	19	18	50	46	15	10,347
In the year 1806.																			
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	
January ...	50	53	25	125	111	135	34	22	25	9	2	9	7	...	2	6	2	1	624
February...	52	50	24	101	98	96	31	28	25	6	10	11	3	...	...	5	5	2	547
March	57	40	19	127	119	133	34	27	16	10	8	13	...	...	...	3	3	3	612
April	41	35	20	100	110	136	35	22	25	9	11	15	...	...	...	3	2	5	599
May	41	44	24	102	103	156	39	24	29	10	8	9	1	3	1	3	3	6	606
June	25	17	5	80	88	126	32	32	27	9	3	11	1	...	...	4	5	3	471
July	34	35	19	99	88	147	30	32	32	9	5	9	1	2	...	8	2	7	559
August ...	40	38	26	72	84	133	35	32	30	4	7	9	...	...	...	2	3	2	519
September.	43	33	23	85	80	159	36	41	46	7	2	11	3	...	...	7	1	3	580
October ...	49	40	13	95	102	197	32	29	33	7	4	14	...	...	...	6	4	10	631
November.	50	45	20	116	96	170	27	29	28	8	10	13	...	...	...	5	5	2	624
December.	63	47	23	134	105	153	43	32	30	12	17	17	...	...	...	4	6	8	698
	551	483	241	1236	1184	1741	408	350	346	100	87	132	16	7	11	59	41	48	6,440

* *Register of the Dead Bodies burnt and buried in the* * xxxiv
years 1807, 1808, and 1809.

In the year 1807.	Hindoos burnt.			Hindoos buried.			Mussul- mans buried.			Parsees.			Esraill buried.			Chris- tians buried.			Total.
	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	Male.	Female.	Child.	
January ...	40	30	12	82	74	124	35	24	29	14	8	15	2	1	...	2	4	4	500
February ..	41	35	20	71	74	97	28	20	22	9	12	7	1	1	...	5	4	4	451
March	37	19	12	75	60	86	44	27	25	8	9	21	1	...	...	5	4	1	434
April	38	30	7	74	67	91	29	17	23	4	11	18	...	1	...	4	4	3	421
May	39	29	13	77	78	110	30	24	27	15	5	17	1	2	...	1	3	2	473
June	40	27	19	69	65	116	38	25	40	15	9	12	...	...	...	3	5	1	484
July	33	38	20	90	76	172	41	35	32	12	10	5	2	3	3	6	7	5	593
August	43	46	18	80	74	137	33	34	18	16	15	13	...	1	...	5	2	9	544
September.	50	33	16	71	69	116	33	28	16	8	16	...	1	...	...	4	5	2	476
October	47	38	12	65	70	100	38	33	20	9	11	19	...	2	...	5	2	6	477
November.	57	39	18	82	59	97	35	26	24	12	10	6	...	1	...	5	5	4	480
December.	55	35	17	71	65	125	32	26	19	12	10	19	...	...	...	6	8	...	501
	520	400	184	907	831	1371	419	319	295	134	118	168	7	13	3	51	53	41	5,384
In the year 1808.																			
January ...	36	34	9	69	61	106	33	27	24	16	4	10	...	1	3	4	5	5	447
February...	36	32	14	61	44	71	25	27	24	11	6	10	...	...	...	4	2	6	373
March	47	40	17	76	70	128	32	30	18	13	8	15	...	...	...	2	4	2	502
April	54	44	33	68	58	129	37	24	27	8	19	11	1	...	1	2	2	7	525
May	53	31	23	115	63	192	42	41	51	11	7	24	1	...	1	3	1	11	670
June	39	41	39	94	60	201	33	37	53	15	10	19	...	...	...	1	5	9	664
July	42	41	28	86	71	238	47	41	60	15	11	21	...	...	...	4	3	13	722
August	49	38	46	102	87	186	46	40	43	15	11	20	...	1	5	9	8	9	714
September.	53	58	44	93	102	182	43	41	47	16	13	27	...	1	...	3	4	11	738
October ...	64	43	36	107	108	215	52	54	57	16	11	28	1	1	...	2	2	3	800
November.	55	40	36	111	97	160	35	27	40	12	6	20	...	2	...	8	6	3	658
December.	65	47	36	113	86	168	44	34	35	23	13	15	1	1	2	3	6	8	704
	593	489	361	1095	907	1976	469	423	479	171	119	220	4	8	13	49	52	84	7,517
In the year 1809.																			
January ...	55	39	33	110	96	160	45	39	35	21	15	19	4	2	1	7	7	7	695
February...	46	47	27	129	108	160	41	51	55	20	6	5	...	...	1	11	8	13	721

* xxxv

* No. II.

*State of the Mussulman Population of the Island of Bombay,
from a Survey by Kazeer Shaboodeen Mohuree.*

	Men above 15.	Widows.	Married Women.	Male Children by Wives.	Female Children by Wives.	Concubines.	Sons of Concubines.	Daughters of Concubines.	Male Slaves.	Female Slaves.	Men having two Wives.	Men having three Wives.	Total.
Kokunee and Mahatta Mussulmans.	4120	1930	2777	1924	1455	115	30	23	354	551	104 2	5 3	13502
Mussulman water-carriers	62	10	25	13	17	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	129
Butchers who kill goats only (from the Gháts)	106	50	70	49	33	...	...	...	9	6	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	331
Colaba and Mazagon	200	80	100	50	40	...	...	...	15	10	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	499
Mahim	247	100	188	129	62	...	...	...	12	20	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	764
	4735	170	3160	2165	1607	115	30	23	390	587	$\frac{11\frac{1}{2}}{13\frac{1}{2}}$	$\frac{5}{14}$	15,225
Men connected with establishments of prostitution	200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200
Prostitutes and females connected with prostitution .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1200
Memun Mussulmans	2000	400	500	400	250	7	...	...	40	50	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	3659
Total...	6935	2570	3660	2565	1857	122	30	23	430	637	$\frac{14\frac{1}{2}}{14\frac{1}{2}}$	$\frac{5}{14}$	20,284

ABSTRACT OF TOTALS.

Men above 15	6935	Widows	2,570
Male children by wives	2565	Married women	3,660
Sons of concubines	30	Female children by wives	1,857
Male slaves	430	Concubines	122
		Daughters of concubines	23
Total Males	9,960	Female slaves	637
Total Females	10,324	Wives having one partner	240
		Wives having two partners	15
	20,284	Prostitutes	1,200

Total Females..... 10,324

This was taken in the beginning of the year 1808.

J. MACKINTOSH.

* No. III.

* xxxvi

List of Parsee Caste now Inhabitants of Bombay.

Men from 20 to 80 years of age.....	3,644
Women from ditto to ditto.....	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children ...	1,799
Girls ditto ditto	1,266
	<u>10,042</u>

Bombay, Feb. 28, 1811.

No. IV.

Account of the Numbers, Births, and Deaths of the Christian Inhabitants appertaining to the Parish Church of St. Michael, at Mahim, in the Island of Bombay, from January 1800 to January 1810.

1800. January.—Souls	1,863	1806. January.—Souls	1,863
Births	62	Births	68
Deaths	92	Deaths	73
1801. January.—Souls	1,863	1807. January.—Souls	1,892
Births	56	Births	62
Deaths	66	Deaths	100
1802. January.—Souls	1,900	1808. January.—Souls	1,878
Births	60	Births	67
Deaths	102	Deaths	77
1803. January.—Souls	1,812	1809. January.—Souls	1,724
Births	83	Births	73
Deaths	76	Deaths	112
1804. January.—Souls	1,877	1810. January.—Souls	1,712
Births	62	Births	70
Deaths	127	Deaths	87
1805. January.—Souls	1,848		
Births	55		
Deaths	72		

Parish Church of Saint Michael, the
25th of February 1811, at Mahim.

Dom MATHIAS DE MONTE TABIA, Vicar.

* xxxvii

* No. V.

List of the Christian Inhabitants of the Church of Our Lady of Salvation, of the Births, Deaths, and Living, from January of the year 1800 to the 31st of December of the year 1810.

	Births.	Deaths.	Living.		Births.	Deaths.	Living.
1800...	111	89	1,580	1806...	61	75	1,300
1801...	102	64	1,527	1807...	73	92	1,400
1802...	77	92	1,491	1808...	106	88	1,527
1803...	74	90	1,504	1809...	69	78	2,520
1804...	75	146	1,500	1810...	73	77	1,430
1805...	67	87	1,400				

Church of Our Lady of Salvation, of Mahim, this 23rd of February 1811.

JOA'M D SZA SILVA.

No. VI.

Abstract of the Births, Deaths, and Living of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Mazagon.

Years.	Births.	Deaths.		
		Men.	Women.	Children.
1800	26	9	11	24
1801	30	5	16	9
1802	29	7	22	18
1803	31	9	13	20
1804	24	8	13	19
1805	17	10	7	10
1806	30	6	9	4
1807	32	15	16	10
1808	26	7	13	14
1809	32	9	14	11
1810	25	8	22	21
1811	2	1	1	1
	304	94	157	161
		Living.		
		252	325	179

	Totals.
Living	756
Births	304
Deaths	412

Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, of Mazagon, February 22, 1811.

* No. VII.

* xxxviii

*Account of the Christians of the Church of Our Lady of
Hope, at Bombay.*

Men	...	...	...	...	1,472
Women	...	...	...	...	2,280
					<hr/>
					3,752
					<hr/>

Deaths in each year.

1801	...	...	...	...	187
1802	...	...	...	...	185
1803	...	...	...	...	218
1804	...	...	...	...	233
1805	...	...	...	...	151
1806	...	...	...	...	138
1807	...	...	...	...	147
1808	...	...	...	...	132
1809	...	...	...	...	168
1810	...	...	...	...	158
					<hr/>

1,717, or annually 156.

Births 1801-11,—985, or 88 annually.

[Since this note to the preliminary discourse was written, a large mass of statistics regarding the population of Bombay has been published. Amongst others, I would refer to the weekly Mortuary Returns published in the *Government Gazette*; the Census of the city of Bombay, taken on the 2nd February 1864, and again on the 21st February 1872; *Report of the Royal Commissioners on the Sanitary State of the Army in India*, 1863, vol. I., pp. 702-3, and vol. II., pp. 661-73; *Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1872-73*, chap. VI., pp. 513-26; ditto for 1873-74, chap. VI., pp. 495-520. By Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation II. of 1827, Title Twelfth, the Magistrates are directed to prepare a Register of the Population, and submit a summary thereof to Government annually on the 1st of January (*Brown's Compilation*, p. 45).—ED.]

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL OF MAMANGOM,

AS CELEBRATED ON THE COAST OF MALABAR.

By FRANCIS WREDE, Esq. (afterwards Baron Wrede.)

Communicated by the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN.

*Read in the Literary Society of Bombay on the 31st
December 1804.*

In Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. I., chap. xxv., printed at Edinburgh in the year 1727, there is mention of a custom in Malabar, which he describes in the following words:—

“And a new custom is followed by the modern Samorins, that a jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of twelve years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day; so at the end of the feast any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him succeeds him in his empire.

“In anno 1695 one of those jubilees happened, and the tent pitched * near Panany, a seaport of his about * 2 fifteen leagues to the southward of Calicut. There were but three men that would venture on that desperate action, who fell in with sword and target among the guards, and, after they had killed and wounded many, were themselves killed.

One of the desperadoes had a nephew of fifteen or sixteen years of age, who kept close by his uncle in the attack on the guards; and when he saw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the tent, and made a stroke at his majesty's head, and had certainly despatched him if a large brass lamp which was burning over his head had not marred the blow; but before he could make another he was killed by the guards, and I believe the same Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that time along the coast, and heard the guns for two or three days and nights successively."

The existence of the extraordinary observance alluded to by Captain Hamilton will be found in some degree explained in the further account now delivered, as composed by Francis Wrede, Esq., in the year 1793, at which period I was also on that part of the coast, and have no doubt of the general accuracy of the description then drawn up by Mr. Wrede, with whose assent the present copy has been transcribed for the Society. It is needless to add, that under the British government such an appeal to arms cannot be admitted; neither has, I believe, the festival been celebrated since Malabar became part of the British dominions in India.

*An Account of the Festival of Mamangom, as written by
FRANCIS WREDE, Esq., in the year 1793.*

This feast is celebrated every twelve years at Tirnavay, near the pagoda of that place dedicated to the god Sheeven; it lasts twenty-eight days, and attracts a prodigious concourse of people from all parts of India; it consists in a great many religious rites, military games, comedies, &c., and a splendid fair. The institution of this feast seems to be of the most remote antiquity, at least prior to the government of the Perumals, who used to preside over it; after Cheruma the last Perumal's abdication, Tirnavay made part of the Vellattera rajah's country, and the *mamangom* was, of course,
 *3 celebrated under the auspices of the Wallawuna*diries, who were to protect it with the fourteen thousand Nairs under their command, agreeable to Cheruma's disposition.

But the Zamorin, after having established his power in that part of the country, and attained the summit of his grandeur, assumed to himself the prerogative of presiding at and conducting the *mamangom*. The princes of the house of Vellattera could not brook this usurpation of the Zamorin; they made an attack on his life when he presided the first time at the *mamangom*, and several princes of Vellattera and Nair chiefs fell in the fruitless attempt, and since that time this tragedy has been repeated as often as the *mamangom* was celebrated, the most resolute of the Vellattera family and their followers devoting themselves to an almost certain death; for they appear armed with bows and swords, and attempt to pave their way to the Zamorin's throne, who, surrounded by a strong guard, is prepared to receive them, and they are of course overpowered and cut to pieces before they can reach the successful usurper; which attempt is repeated every day as long as the *mamangom* lasts, and each day some fall a sacrifice to their enthusiasm. It happened, however, towards the middle of the present century, that the Zamorin was in imminent danger of being murdered by a Nair chief, who, after having cut down with incredible bravery every man in his way, had already ascended the steps of the Zamorin's throne, when a Mapilla priest (Coyo) threw himself in his way, and gave the Zamorin time to save himself. It is a very remarkable circumstance that the Zamorin used to be accompanied during the celebration of the *mamangom* by the chief Meeta or head man of the Mapillas on one side, and by the Portuguese factor on the other. It is not above forty years since the last *mamangom* was celebrated.

[Note.—Finding no further account of this festival in the journals of our learned societies accessible to me, I applied to my friend Mr. Shāmarāv Viṭhal, Pleader, High Court, for information on the subject, and he has kindly obtained the following account from Mr. Kṛishṇa Menavan, Subordinate Judge of Mangalore, in South Kánará. Mr. Menavan is a native of the country of the Zamorins.

“*Mahamagham*.

“Either at the end of the first century or at the beginning of the Christian era, when Malabar was under the government of a body

of nobles who transacted the affairs of the state through an officer styled Rakshapurushan (Protector), who was to continue in office only for three years, some dispute arose as to the selection of the next Rakshapurushan, and the principal four sections which then composed the assembly having failed to agree as to the selection of their executive officer resolved at last to select one to rule over them, and for this purpose they went abroad and selected one Keya from the country on the other side of the ghâts, and bringing him to the sacred city of Tirunavay, placed him on a seat of honour on the banks of the holy river Perar, and with the waters thereof anointed and proclaimed him Perumal* or Ruler of the country. According to their original engagement with the Perumal, he was to continue as ruler only for a term of twelve years, at the end of which he was to retire into private life or to leave the country altogether. The installation of this first Perumal took place on Pushya (the 8th lunar asterism) in the month of Mâgha in Kerkedaka Viyalam (the period during which Jupiter remains in Cancer), and this day in every cycle of Jupiter thus became important in the history of Malabar, as the reign of every Perumal terminated on that day. This event was commemorated with a great feast, at which all the nobles and the principal inhabitants of the country attended. For twenty-eight days they were entertained, and on the last day the retiring Perumal appeared before the assembly and laid down the sword of state, and the assembly then declared the throne vacant. Another was then elected and crowned Perumal for another twelve years. This great feast and the coronation occurring in the month of Mâgha, that month in every Kerkedaka Viyalam was known as the great Mâgha or Mâha Mâgha, which was afterwards corrupted into Mamangam. At the end of this feast all prior leases of lands were considered to be at an end, and fresh grants were to be obtained at the beginning of the next reign. Some traces of this system are still to be found in the Malabar land tenure. The Kanam and some other leases will continue for twelve years without any specific mention to that effect in the lease, and at the end of every twelve years they are to be renewed, and in all the principal deeds the position of Jupiter is to be mentioned. This practice is continued even up to the present day. When the influence of the Perumals increased in course of time, they did not like to lay down the sword quietly, and the practice of competing for the crown by adventurers then came in vogue. The Perumal attended the feast as before, but, instead of abdicating the crown in the presence of the assembly, he seated himself in a tent pitched for him in a spacious plain, strongly guarded by a body of spearmen and lancers. The candidate for the Perumalship was to force his way by a desperate fight through this guard and to kill the Perumal.

* *Perumal* literally means 'a great personage,' from two Tamil words—*Perum*, great, and *Al*, person.

He who succeeded in thus killing the Perumal was immediately proclaimed and crowned Perumal for the next term of twelve years. On account of this fight in the latter days the feast is sometimes called Máhá-mágha-Ankam, or Mamankam, which means 'the great Mágha fight.' If no one succeeded in killing the Perumal he was to reign for another twelve years. The last Perumal—Shiva Ram or Cheruman Perumal,—succeeded in securing three terms, and he therefore reigned for thirty-six years. The nobles were at this time either losing their great athletic power which enabled the candidates to fight their way through the guards, or were unwilling to bring to a close the reign of one whom they much liked. They, however, had occasion soon to repent of their imprudence for allowing him to remain in power for so long a period as thirty-six years. He succeeded in reducing the power of the Yagam or assembly, and became the absolute monarch of the country. He at last became a convert to Buddhism, and when he left the country of his own accord, he portioned out the kingdom amongst his adherents, and it was at this time that the Zamorin and the Rájás of Travancore, Cochin, Cherikal, and other minor kingdoms became sovereigns of the respective portions of the country allotted to them. The right of convening the assembly and celebrating the Mamangam feast he conferred on the Rájá of Arngod Swarupam (the modern Rájá of Walluvanad), and as this right carried with it a sort of supremacy over the other Rájás, the Zamorin, who was the most powerful among the adventurers of the last Perumal, challenged the Walluvanad Rájá to perform the feast, and the Zamorin succeeded in killing the Rájá at the end of the feast in the manner prescribed, and thus secured the Mel Koima, or right of supremacy over the other rájás of Malabar. On several subsequent occasions the Zamorins have celebrated this feast, either at the invitation of other rájás, and especially at that of the Walluvanad Rájá, or of their own accord, so as to allow others an opportunity of gaining the right of supremacy; but no one has yet succeeded in cutting his way through the brave and warlike Nair guard of the Zamorins. The last feast appears to have been celebrated in 1743 A.C."—Ed.]

* 4

* II.

REMARKS UPON THE TEMPERATURE OF THE ISLAND OF BOMBAY

DURING THE YEARS 1803 AND 1804.

By Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) JASPER NICHOLLS.

Read in the Society on the 28th January 1805.

THE daily observations of the height of the thermometer, from which the following remarks and accompanying charts have been framed, were not originally intended to form the basis of a very minute inquiry into the variations of the climate; but they have been continued with so much care and punctuality that they may possibly afford a result, which, though not scrupulously accurate, may not be uninteresting.

The thermometer which has been used on this occasion is of the common kind, but one which previous comparison and subsequent experience have proved to be a good one: from the 1st of January to the 24th of March 1803 it had not the advantage of being compared with any other at the moment of examination; but since the latter period it has undergone a daily comparison sufficient to make trial of, and confirm, its accuracy.

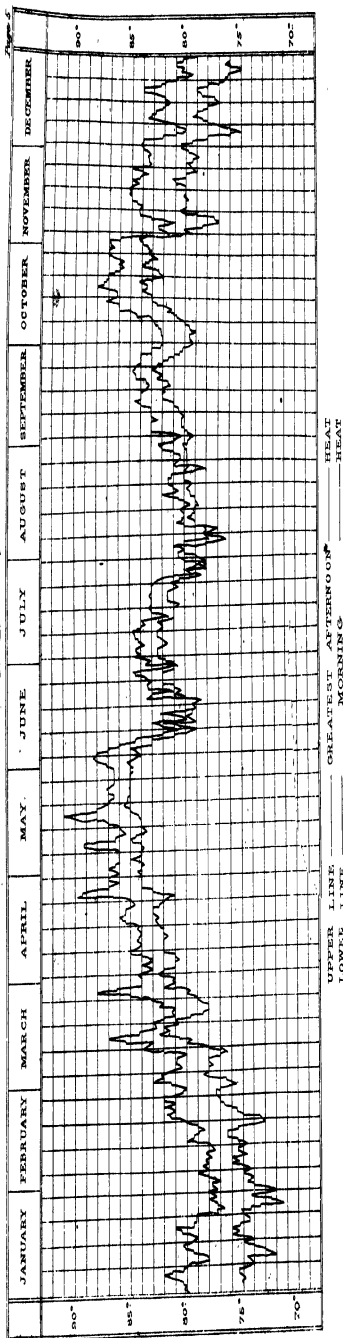
The observations were generally made in the morning from six to eight o'clock, for the midday between twelve and four, and at night from half-past nine to twelve. The greatest height at noon has been noted, when several observations were made.

It may be satisfactory to know the position of the instrument, and situation of the house in which the diary has been kept.

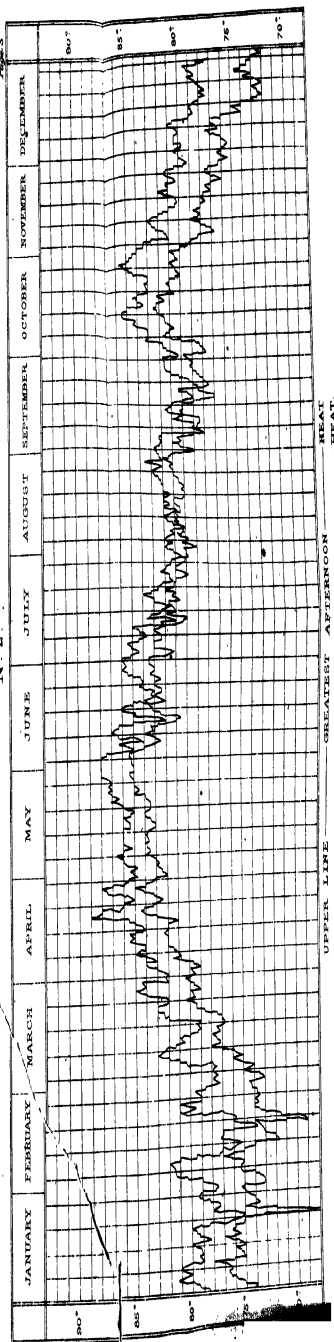
The front of the house runs nearly north and south, opening to the west towards the sea, and distant 375 yards from high-water mark. It is wholly exposed to the westward,
* 5 partly so to the northward; but to * the eastward and southward the neighbouring buildings either obstruct the free passage of the air, or from their low roofs reflect a con-

A CHART EXHIBITING THE VARIATIONS OF THE THERMOMETER AT BOMBAY IN 1803.

N^o 1.



N^o 2.



A CHART EXHIBITING THE VARIATIONS OF THE THERMOMETER AT BOMBAY IN 1804.

siderable portion of heat. In comparison with other houses within the fort, those on the western face have many advantages of situation, two of them—exposure, particularly to the sea breezes, and the coolness derived therefrom—materially connected with the objects of inquiry. Therefore to establish any positive medium of the climate of Bombay, similar observations made in the country, and some more unexposed part of the Fort, are necessary.

The thermometers were suspended against a wall two feet in thickness, within a few inches of the angle formed by the junction of another wall of nearly equal thickness, the room itself spacious and lofty. They cannot at any time have been raised by the action of the sun upon them; the walls prevent such an effect, and on the other sides it is even less possible. On these sides also they have not been exposed to any improper influence or current of the air,—on one being sheltered by a door which, being kept open, forms a channel for the air from the other. The height at which the instruments were suspended is about 23 feet above the level of high-water mark.

On the whole the position may be reckoned a favourable one; and this description of it, though detailed, may not, perhaps, be unnecessarily introduced.

In order to render the series of observations more connected, and to bring it at a view under the eye, charts similar to those used by Mr. Playfair in his Commercial and Political Atlas have been adopted; and this mode of conveying information on this subject may possibly, in some respects, be preferable to those hitherto in general use. It affords strong and marked lines, which in the other must be sought and procured only by considerable examination; it also presents an immediate, easy, and fair comparison between any two years or parts of the same year.

The charts Nos. 1 and 2 exhibit the variations of the thermometer in the years 1803 and 1804: in explanation of them a few words may be requisite.

The charts are divided by lines running from left to right, each space * representing a degree upon the * 6

thermometer; the divisions made by the lines drawn from top to bottom represent weeks, which are again above marked off into months.

Upon these the height of the thermometer in the morning and at midday is marked, each daily rise or fall of the mercury being noted by a correspondent ascending or descending stroke, terminating on the line of degrees, or at half or quarter distance between any two of them. When the mercury rose to the same height, or was equally depressed, for several days at any of the times of observation, the straight line is continued until the first deviation,—sometimes being so for four or five days. The greatest daily heat, either at noon or afterwards, is thus described, and marked by a red line prolonged to the year's end; the morning heat is similarly shown by a yellow line. The heat at night has not been given, as being between the other two it would have prevented either from being sufficiently clear; but of course by using charts of a larger scale it may without injury to the other parts be introduced.

The chart No. 3 contains an abstract of the midday or afternoon heat (whenever greatest) of the two years, computed from the average of weeks, and is divided by lines representing months; it not only gives a comparison of any two months, but conveys an idea, as far as one can be safely formed on an average of two years, of the midday temperature. Such lines, if contrasted in the same manner with years past, would either prove in some measure that the climate has been subject to alteration, or, if they agreed, would give the certain mean midday temperature of each month.

The heat at noon or afterwards, when greatest, has been alone attended to in this last chart, not only as that by which we are most materially affected, but as showing the power of the sun, and the great influence which it has upon the remainder of the day, in proportion to its duration and extent. It will be at once observed that the difference between the height of the mercury at noon and at morn or night is very trifling during the monsoon, when we are usually protected from the rays of the sun.

To have given a line taken from the average of the three daily observations would have been easy; but the difference between the heat at noon * and morning (when the * 7 mercury is lowest) may be easily seen, either by reference to the charts 1 and 2, or to the following table:—

Average monthly difference between the greatest heat at noon and

In the morning.			At night.	
1803.	1804.		1803.	1804.
$4^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$	$3^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$	January	$2^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$	$1^{\circ}\frac{1}{4}$
4	5	February	2	$2^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$
$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	March	$2\frac{1}{4}$	2
3	3	April	$1\frac{1}{4}$	2
$2\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	May	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	June	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$
$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	July	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	August	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	September	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
$3\frac{1}{4}$	3	October	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
4	$3\frac{3}{4}$	November	2	$1\frac{3}{4}$
$4\frac{1}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	December	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Greatest difference in the heat of the day at any time within each month :—

	1803.	1804.
January	$10^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$	$13^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$
February	9	13
March	$11\frac{3}{4}$	12
April	$9\frac{1}{4}$	10
May	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$
June	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{4}$
July	$6\frac{3}{4}$	7
August	6	$4\frac{3}{4}$
September	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$
October	9	$7\frac{1}{2}$
November	10	$8\frac{1}{2}$
December	$9\frac{1}{4}$	9

* 8 * In estimating the mean temperature of the island from the averages of all the observations, the following result is obtained :—

	Morn.	Noon.	Night.
1803	$79^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{8}$	$82^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$	$81^{\circ}\frac{3}{8}$
1804	$79\frac{1}{8}\frac{3}{8}$	$82\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$	$80\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{8}$
Average	$79\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$	$82\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{8}$	$80\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$
General average of 1803	.....		$81^{\circ}\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{8}$
General average of 1804	.....		$80\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$
Mean temperature	.....		$80\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{8}$

This medium appears to be a more favourable one than from observations in other parts of India, or of the world, in the same parallel of latitude, we should have been warranted in supposing.

The above mode of framing a general average, although a common one, is liable to several objections; it certainly does not procure a just and fair conclusion; and however correct the principles may be when applied to other subjects, they do not equally extend to this. For instance, take 79° as the general average of the morning heat in 1804, contrast this with the chart, using the correspondent line as the means of comparison, and it will be found that of 366 observations but twelve will agree with it: it cannot therefore convey an accurate idea of the morning temperature.

The monsoons, periodical and generally prevalent winds, have been by many qualified persons already treated of so fully that nothing worth attention could be extracted from the diary on these points; but the following table of the number of rainy days in each year may be in some small degree interesting, particularly as they happened to be years so opposite in the great leading feature,—the first of unusual scarcity, the second of uncommon abundance.

* 1803.			1804.		* 9
Days of			Days of		
Heavy rain.	Showers.		Heavy rain.	Showers.	
...	...	January	...	3	
...	2	February	...	...
...	...	March	...	...
...	...	April	...	...
...	...	May	...	2	
14	11	June	11	11	
14	14	July	17	13	
15	8	August	7	17	
2	3	September	14	14	
...	5	October	...	6	
1	1	November	...	...
...	...	December	...	...
—	—		—	—	
46	44		49	66	
	46			49	
	—			—	
General Total 90				115	
	—			—	

To the difference of the fall of rain in the months of September the difference between the crops of these years is generally, and may with great reason be, attributed. It must also be within the recollection of many persons that the month of August last was one which gave rise to individual complaint and general anxiety on account of the threatened failure.

[*Note*.—The Meteorological and Magnetical observations taken at the Colaba Observatory from 1846 to 1870, which have been published, supply the most authentic information on this question. The following works may also be referred to:—*Bombay Geographical Society's Transactions*, Vol. VIII., pp. 50-53; Vol. XII., pp. 20-22, 26-30; Vol. XV., pp. 19-30 (Dr. Buist on Hurricanes in the Eastern Seas from 1854 to 1859) Vol. XVII., p. 299; *General Administration Report for the Bombay Presidency for 1873-74*, Appx. 165-67.—Ed.]

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* III.

TRANSLATION FROM THE CHINESE
OF TWO EDICTS :

THE ONE RELATING TO THE CONDEMNATION OF CERTAIN PERSONS
CONVICTED OF CHRISTIANITY ; AND THE OTHER CONCERNING THE
CONDEMNATION OF CERTAIN MAGISTRATES IN THE PROVINCE OF
CANTON. By Sir GEORGE STAUNTON. With introductory
Remarks by the President, Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH.

Read 24th February 1806.

The following account of the latest example, perhaps, of men punished for preaching religious opinions, is from our learned associate Sir G. Staunton. It is interesting in various respects. It is a useful lesson to see intolerance stripped of all the disguises which too often familiarize and reconcile her to our prejudices. It is useful to contemplate persecution carried on against Christians, that we may learn to abhor every kind and degree of it when practised by Christians. In this case the utility is the more unmixed, because the example instructs our understanding without the possibility of provoking us to retaliate—often the unfortunate effect of narratives of persecution. The plausibility of the pretences assigned, the consideration and air of equity which characterizes the comparison of the different degrees of guilt of the supposed criminals, are contrivances and disguises, often perhaps unconsciously adopted, to soften the natural indignation of mankind against substantial injustice, which is to be found in the administration of most tyrannical laws.

IMPERIAL EDICT,

10th Year of Ria-King (A.D. 1805).

The Supreme Criminal Court has reported to us the trial, in-

vestigation, and sentence of that tribunal concerning *Chin-yo-vang*, a native of the * province of Canton, who * 11 had been discovered to have received privately a man and sundry letters from the European *Te-tien-tse* (Father Adeodato, a missionary at Peking), and also regarding several other persons, who had been found guilty of teaching and propagating the doctrines of the Christian religion.

The Europeans who adhere to the Christian faith act conformably to the customs established in those countries, and are not prohibited from doing so by our laws. Their establishments at Peking were originally founded with the auspicious views of adopting the Western method in our astronomical calculations; and Europeans of every nation who have been desirous of studying and practising the same at this court have readily been permitted to come and reside upon the above establishments; but from the beginning they were restricted from maintaining intercourse with, and exciting troubles among, our subjects.

Nevertheless, *Te-tien-tse* has had the audacity secretly to propagate and teach his doctrines to the various persons mentioned in the report; and he has not only worked on the minds of the simple peasantry and women, but even many of our Tartar subjects have been persuaded to believe and conform to his religion; and it appears that no less than thirty-one books upon the European religion have been printed by his order in the Chinese character. Unless we act with severity and decision on this occasion, how are these perverse doctrines to be suppressed? How shall we stop their insinuating progress?

The books of the Christian religion must originally have been written in the European languages, and in that state were incapable of influencing the minds of our subjects, or of propagating the doctrine in this country; but the books lately discovered are all of them printed in the Chinese character,—with what view it is needless to inquire: for it is sufficient that in this country such means must not be employed to seduce our simple peasantry to the knowledge and belief of those tenets; and much less can it be suffered to operate thus on the

minds of our Tartar subjects, as the most serious effects are to be apprehended from it on the hearts and minds of the people.

With respect to *Ohin-yó-vang*, who had taken charge * 12 of the letters; *Ohin-ping-te*, a private of infantry under the Chinese banner, who was discovered teaching the doctrine in a church; *Lieut-chao-tung*, *Siao-ching-ting*, *Chu-chung-tug*, and the private soldier *Vang-mea-te*, who severally superintended congregations of Christians, as they have been respectively convicted of conveying letters, or employing other means for extending their sect and doctrine, it is our pleasure to confirm the sentence of the court, according to which they shall severally be sent into banishment at Elee, in Tartary, and become slaves among the Eleuths, and previous to their departure shall wear each of them the heavy cangue for three months, that their chastisement may be corrective and exemplary.

The conduct of the female peasant *Chin-yang-shy*, who undertook to superintend a congregation of her own sex, is still more odious; she therefore shall also be banished to Elee, and reduced to the condition of a slave at the military station, instead of being indulged with the female privilege of redeeming the punishment by a fine.

The peasant *Kien-hen*, who was employed in distributing letters for the congregation, and in persuading others to assist in their ministry; and likewise the soldier *Tung-hing-shen*, who contumaciously resisted the repeated exhortations made to him to renounce his errors, shall respectively wear the common cangue for three months, and after the expiration of that term undergo banishment to Elee, and become slaves among the Eleuths.

The soldiers *Chau-ping-te*, *Vang-meu-te*, *Tung-hen-shen*, who have gone astray, and willingly become proselytes to the European doctrine, are really unworthy to be considered as men, and their names shall be erased from the lists of those serving under our banners. The countrymen *Vang-shy-ning*, *Ko-tien-fo*, *Yeu-se-king*, and *Vu-si-man*; and the soldiers serving in the Chinese infantry, *Tung-ming*, *Tung-se*, and *Chin-yung-tung*

have each of them repented and renounced their errors, and may therefore be discharged from confinement; but as the fear of punishment may have had more effect in producing their recantation than any sincere disposition to reform, it is necessary that the magistrates and military officers in whose jurisdiction they may be should keep a strict watch over them,* and inflict a punishment doubly severe if they *13 should relapse into their former errors.

Te-tien-tse, who is a European entertained in our service at court, having so far forgot his duty and disobeyed the laws as to print books and otherwise contrive to disseminate his doctrines, is guilty of a very odious offence. The alternative proposed by the court, of dismissing him to his native country, or of remanding him from the prison to his station at Peking, is very inadequate to his crime.

We therefore direct that the Supreme Military Court do appoint an officer to take charge of the said *Te-tien-tse*, and conduct him to Ge-ho in Tartary, where it is our pleasure he should remain a prisoner in the guard-house of the Eleuths, and be subject to the superintendence and visitation of the noble magistrate *King-ku*, who must carefully prevent him from having any correspondence or communication with the Tartars in that neighbourhood.

The noble officer *Chang-foe*, who has hitherto superintended the European establishments, having been ignorant of what was going forward in his department, and having made no investigation or inquiries during the time that *Te-tien-tse* was writing letters, printing books, and spreading his religion, has proved himself insufficient and unworthy of his station; wherefore we direct the Interior Council of State to take cognizance of his misconduct.

In like manner it is our desire that the Council of State take cognizance of the neglect and inattention ascribable to the military commanders who suffered the soldiers under their orders to be corrupted with these foreign doctrines, and then report us the result of their deliberations, in order that we may refer the adjudication of punishment to the proper court.

The Council of State shall moreover, in concurrence with the Supreme Criminal Court, appoint certain officers to examine all the books of the Christian doctrine which have been discovered; after which they shall, without exception, be committed to the flames, together with the printing-blocks from which the impressions were taken.

*14 * The governor and other magistrates of Peking and the commanders of troops stationed at the capital shall strictly attend to the subject of these instructions, and severally address edicts to the soldiers and people in their respective jurisdictions, declaring that all persons henceforth frequenting the Europeans in order to learn their doctrines will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law, without exception or abatement, for having acted in defiance of the present prohibition.—As for the rest we confirm the sentence of the court.—*Khin-tse*.

The second Edict is a remarkable instance of that solicitude about the condition of prisons which in Europe has been one of the latest fruits of civilization. In China, where no novelties are suffered, it must have been part of the ancient policy of the empire. It must be owned that this edict breathes a spirit which no European government manifested towards prisoners before the memorable journeys of Howard.

IMPERIAL EDICT,

Issued on the 22nd Day of the intercalary 6th Moon of the 10th Year of the Emperor Kia-King (August the 16th, 1805).

We have received the address of *Na-yen-tching*, viceroy, and *Pe-ling*, sub-viceroy of the province of Canton, charging certain magistrates of districts with neglect and delay in the execution of justice, in consequence of which the prisons had become inadequate to contain all the offenders successively committed for trial; secondly, with connivance at the rapacity and extortion of their attendants; and lastly, with the illegal employment of female curators, by which several offences the lives of many of our subjects had been endangered or sacrificed: we are accordingly solicited to degrade and remove the said magistrates.

The magistrates of districts are undoubtedly forbidden by existing regulations to employ any subsidiary places of confinement; and in the event of the increased number of informations against delinquents in the principal districts, including the capital of the province of Canton, requiring such an expedient, it was the duty of the magistrates thereof to have represented *the exigency to the superior officers of *15 government, in order that the adoption of the measure, if necessary, should receive the sanction of the laws.

It has now appeared upon investigation that three subsidiary prisons had nevertheless been employed in the district of Nan-hay, and that the attendants of the tribunal in the said district made use of fifty other places of occasional confinement. In the district of Pun-yu one subsidiary prison was found, called *Tay-heu-so*, and twelve places of occasional confinement. It was moreover discovered that the attendants had been criminally suffered to divide those places of confinement into cells, and to enclose them with a railing, whereby dark dungeons were formed, with the view of practising fraud and extortions upon the unfortunate persons who might be confined therein, among whom many grew sick and died from the severity of the imprisonment.

Lastly, it has appeared that the female prisoners, previous to their being discharged or receiving sentence, were usually committed to the custody of female curators, by whom it frequently happened that the younger women were exposed to prostitution, the wages whereof became a source of profit to the curators.

The conduct of the magistrates who permitted these abuses is no less odious than extraordinary, and they seem utterly to have neglected the laws of the empire and the happiness of the people, with whom, by reason of their inferior jurisdiction, they were more intimately connected and bound to than other officers of government.

On these grounds the viceroy and sub-viceroy have solicited their degradation and removal; and accordingly we decree that *Vang-shy*, magistrate of the district of Nan-hay, and *Siao-king-vu*, magistrate of the district of Pun-hu, be divested of

their respective employments, and expiate their guilt by an immediate banishment to Elee in Tartary.

And as it is evident from the existence of these abuses that the superintending officers of that province have been guilty of supineness and neglect of due examination in their respective departments, we direct that the Supreme Criminal Court do take cognizance of the censurable conduct of *Oui-she-poo*, the *16 late viceroy, and of *Sun-yu-ting* and *Hoo-tu-lee*,* successively sub viceroys of the province of Canton; and likewise of the conduct of the *Anchasee* (chief justice), the *Leang-tao* (his deputy), and the *Quang-chevu-foo* (governor of the city of Canton), who by virtue of their respective offices possessed a jurisdiction and control over the said guilty magistrates.

We order that *Na-yin-tching* also proceed to ascertain by investigation at what period, and under the government of what magistrates, these abuses commenced, and speedily report the same for our consideration, showing the degree of misconduct with which such magistrates and their superintending officers are chargeable.

With regard to *Na-yen-tching* and *Pe-ling*, who had so lately succeeded to the government of the province, we highly applaud the vigour and ability they have shown in the administration of public affairs; and it is our pleasure that the Supreme Court take their merits into consideration.—*Khin-tse* (i.e. respect this).

[Note.—See *The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution in China* (published in 1866), and especially vol. I., chap. xiv., and vol. II., chap. xvi. The edict of Religious Toleration at pp. 468 and 469 is interesting. Contrast with this the account by M. l'Abbé Huc in *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet* (1857), vol. I., chaps. iii. and x., and vol. II., chaps. i.-vii.

An example of the extreme jealousy of the Chinese, even in matters of literature and history, may be found in chap. i., vol. I. of the *Chinese Classics*, by James Legge, D.D.—Ed.]

ACCOUNT OF THE AKHLAUK-E-NASIREE, OR MORALS OF NASIR,

A CELEBRATED PERSIAN SYSTEM OF ETHICS.

By Lieutenant EDWARD FRISSELL†, of the Bombay
Establishment.

Read 25th August 1806.

I HAVE the honour to present to the Society a sketch of the contents of the *Akhlauk-e-Nasiree*, or *Morals of Nasir*, with some translations from that work, as specimens of the author's principles and manner of reasoning. The *Akhlauk-e-Nasiree* is not confined to morals: it is in reality a system of ethics, economics, and politics, and is considered by the Persians and Mahomedans of India as one of the best treatises which they possess on those most important subjects. Of this work little, I believe, is generally known beyond its name. I am therefore induced to hope that some acquaintance with it may be deemed an object sufficiently interesting to warrant my making to the Society so trifling an offering.

The writings of any of the Asiatics are not likely to lead to any direct improvements in real philosophy. But the examination of them is both curious and useful, as it tends to throw further light on the history of philosophy, which is one of the most interesting parts of human knowledge.

In the following translations I have not attempted, by any alteration in arrangement, or, where it was possible to avoid it, by any change of expression, to render them more respectable as literary performances: it has been my object to adhere as closely as possible to the original, being con- * 18
*vinced that in everything connected with Oriental litera-

† This excellent young man, who so united talents for business with a respectable proficiency in Western as well as Eastern literature, and who was tenderly beloved by his friends for the mild integrity and modest dignity of his character, died of a pulmonary consumption at Calcutta a short time after the communication of the above essay.

ture the most perfect candour and most minute exactness should be strictly observed.

The *Akhlauk-e-Nasirée* was written by Mahomed son of Hussun of Toos, who was generally called Nusseeroodeen. He was born A.D. 1201, and died in 1284.

The work was composed during his residence in Cohistan, and was dedicated to Nasseeroodeen Abdool Ruhcem, prince of that country, from which circumstance it has been called the *Akhlauk-e-Nasirée*.

Nusseeroodeen is said to have composed a treatise on Mahomedan law; and he was certainly the author of different mathematical works. He was highly esteemed by Hulakoo Khan, the grandson of the celebrated Chungiz, and was finally established by that prince at Murakah, in Ader baijan, where he prepared the Astronomical Tables which are still extant.

INTRODUCTION.

The subject of this work being one of the branches of Philosophy, it is necessary to explain the meaning of that term, and its divisions, that the sense in which it is used in this book may be understood.

In the language of men of learning, Philosophy means the knowledge of things as they are, and the performance of actions as they ought to be performed, to the extent that our powers will permit; in order that the human mind may reach that perfection to which it inclines.

This being the case, philosophy is divided into two parts—Knowledge and Practice. Knowledge is the apprehension of things, and the determination of their laws and properties, as they really exist, to the extent that human capacity will admit. Practice is the regulation of actions and the management of affairs, in order that what exists in potentiality may come forth into act, provided it lead from defectiveness to perfection, as far as the capability of man will admit: whoever attains to the possession of these two things is a complete philosopher and perfect man, and his rank is the highest of the human species. According to the divine word:—

“He giveth philosophy to him whom he chooseth ; and to him to whom philosophy is given is given the greatest good.”

* Now, since philosophy is the knowledge of things as * 19 they really are, it is divided into parts according to the division of things. Things are of two kinds :—

First, those whose existence does not depend upon the voluntary actions of mankind.

Second, those whose existence depends upon the thoughts and voluntary actions of mankind.

The knowledge of things, then, is of two kinds. One is the knowledge of the first division, which is called speculative knowledge: the other the knowledge of the second division, which is called practical knowledge.

Speculative knowledge is also divided into two parts: first, the knowledge of those things whose existence does not depend upon a mixture of matter; second, the knowledge of those things which could not exist without a mixture of matter. This last is also divided into two kinds: one, which can be considered abstractedly from matter; the second, which can only be considered connected with matter.

According to these principles, speculative knowledge is divided into three parts :—

The first is called metaphysics, the second mathematics, and the third physics.

Each of these comprehends the knowledge of different things, some of which may be considered as roots, and some as branches.

The roots of the first are divided into two parts. First, the knowledge of God and those who are near his divine majesty, and who through his sublime decrees are the origins and causes of other existences, intelligences, and spirits, and their laws and actions; and this branch of knowledge is called theology. Second, the knowledge of those general matters which constitute the condition of things as they really are; such as unity and number; necessity and possibility; creation and eternity, &c.: and this is called the first philosophy. Several inferior species .

are comprehended in it; as the knowledge of prophecy, priesthood, divine law, a future state, and what will remain in it.

The roots of mathematics are four:—

First, the knowledge of quantity, its laws and relations: and this is called geometry.

* 20 *Second, the knowledge of numbers and their natures: and this is called arithmetic.

Third, the various motions of the heavenly bodies in relation to each other and to the terrestrial bodies, the proportion of their orbits and distances: and this is called astronomy,—judicial astrology not being included in this branch.

Fourth, the knowledge of the nature and relations of concord: and this is called the science of harmony. As this is applied to sounds according to the certain relations between them, and to the quantity of time during which they are continued or discontinued, this is called the science of music.

The branches of mathematics are also various, as optics, algebra, mechanics, &c.

The roots of physics are of eight kinds:—

First, the knowledge of the principles of changes, such as time and place, motion and rest, finity and infinity: and these are called the attributes of Nature.

Second, the knowledge of simple and compound bodies, and the laws of simples, celestial and terrestrial: and that is called the knowledge of the attributes of the world.

Third, the knowledge of the elements, and the changes of form which take place in common matter: and this is called the knowledge of production and dissolution.

Fourth, the knowledge of the causes of atmospherical and terrestrial affections, such as thunder, lightning, thunderbolts, rain, ice, earthquakes, hail, and such like.

Fifth, the knowledge of compounds, their qualities and composition: and this is called mineralogy.

Sixth, the knowledge of vegetable bodies, their souls and faculties: and this is called the science of botany.

Seventh, the knowledge of moveable bodies, which have the

power of voluntary motion, the principles of their motion, the laws and faculties of their souls : and this is called the knowledge of animals.

Eighth, the knowledge of the rational soul of man, and the manner of its operation in the body : and this is called the science of the mind.

The branches of physics are numerous; such as medicine, * 21 judicial astrology, agriculture, &c.

The science of logic, however, which was discovered and systematized by Aristotle, is applied to the knowledge of the nature of things, and the manner of obtaining a knowledge of things unknown, and is therefore, in truth, the science of instruction, and is used as an instrument for acquiring other sciences.

These are the different kinds of speculative philosophy.

Practical philosophy—which is the knowledge of the regulation of the voluntary actions and affairs of men, in such a manner as shall occasion an improvement in their temporal and spiritual concerns, and lead to that perfection to which they incline—is also divided into two parts, one of which relates to each mind individually, the other to united numbers : and this last is divided into two kinds, one of which relates to assemblies of persons united together in one house or dwelling, the other to bodies united in a city, district, country, or kingdom. Practical philosophy, therefore, is of three kinds, the first of which is called ethics, the second economics, and the third politics.

It must be observed that the principles of that regulation of the actions of men which leads to the improvement of human affairs are either natural or instituted. The natural are those which, having sprung from the understandings of the enlightened, the sagacious, and the wise, continue unalterable during the succession of ages, the revolutions of states, and the occurrence of various events : and this is the branch of practical philosophy which will here be treated of.

That branch whose principles have been instituted, if it be

founded on the concurring opinion of a number of persons, is called a system of rules.

If it be founded on the opinion of a venerable character, assisted by divine aid, such as a prophet or saint, it is called the divine law :—and this also is of three kinds.

The first applies to every individual, such as worship, and the commandments relating to it.

The second applies to persons united together in houses by the ties of marriage, &c.

* 22 * The third applies to persons united in cities and countries, such as rules of subordination and punishment: and this is called the science of law.

As the foundations of these are instituted, they are subject to alteration from the revolution of events, the predominance of nations, the progress of time, the extremes of fortune, and the changes in systems and states: and though this branch is generally considered to belong to practical philosophy, and will be treated of in its proper place, it is not included in the divisions of philosophy, because the consideration of the philosopher is confined to the examination of the laws of reason, and the investigation of those things which are not subject to transition and decay, and which remain unimpaired amidst the change of systems and the dissolution of kingdoms.

The *Akhlauk-e-Nasiree* contains three books—the first on morals, the second on economics, and the third on politics.

The first book is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of principles, and contains seven chapters.

Chap. 1. On the subject of morals and its principles.

Chap. 2. On the mind of man, which is called the rational soul.

Chap. 3. On the faculties of the mind, and their distinction from other faculties.

Chap. 4. On the proposition that man is the noblest animal of this world.

Chap. 5. On this, that the mind is incident to perfection and depravity.

Chap. 6. On the question, In what does the perfection of the

mind consist? and on the ruin of those who have maintained false notions upon this subject.

Chap. 7. On good and happiness, which are the ends of attaining to perfection.

Part II.—ON ENDS.

Chap. 1. On the nature of man, and the immutability of morals.

Chap. 2. On this, that the art of improving morals is the noblest of all arts.

*Chap. 3. On the cardinal virtues. * 23

Chap. 4. On the different species which are classed under the cardinal virtues.

Chap. 5. On the opposite qualities, which are termed vices.

Chap. 6. On the difference between the cardinal virtues and those qualities which have a resemblance to them.

Chap. 7. On the superior excellence of justice over the other virtues, and of its different kinds.

Chap. 8. On the manner of acquiring the virtues and the degrees of happiness.

Chap. 9. On the preservation of the health of the mind, which depends on the observance of the virtues.

Chap. 10. On the care of the diseases of the mind, which depends upon subduing the vices.

Book II.—On Economics, which contains five chapters.

Chap. 1. On the necessity of domestic society, and the knowledge of its principles.

Chap. 2. On the management and regulation of property, and articles of subsistence.

Chap. 3. On the regulation of domestic concerns.

Chap. 4. On the treatment and education of children, and the observance of the duties of parents.

Chap. 5. On the treatment of servants and slaves.

Book III.—On Politics, containing eight chapters.

Chap. 1. On the necessity of civil society, with an explanation of the nature and excellence of the science.

Chap. 2. On benevolence, which is the bond of society, and of its divisions.

Chap. 3. On the different kinds of societies, with an explanation of different things connected with government.

Chap. 4. On the government of a country, and the duties of kings.

Chap. 5. On the conduct and duties of subjects.

* 24 * Chap. 6. On the excellence of probity, and how to cultivate the friendship of the just.

Chap. 7. How to cultivate the good-will of all men.

Chap. 8. Containing some precepts ascribed to Plato, which are universally useful; and the conclusion of the work.

Akhlauk-e-Nasiree, Part II., Book 1, Chap. 3.—*On the Cardinal Virtues.*

It has been shown in treating of the mind that it has three distinct faculties, from which the different voluntary actions of men proceed. When one of these faculties gains the ascendant, the others are either subdued or destroyed.

The first of these is the faculty of reason, which is called the angelic soul, and is the source of reflection, judgment, and desire in respect to the principles of action.

The second is the faculty of anger, which is called the irascible soul. It is the source of anger, courage, and the desire of superiority, exaltation, and increased rank.

The third is the faculty of lust, which is called the bestial soul, and is the source of concupiscence, the appetite for food, and the desire for the pleasure derived from eating and drinking and the intercourse of the sexes, as has been explained in the first part of this book.

Now the number of virtues of the mind may be derived from the number of its faculties.

When the acts of the rational soul are regulated by moderation, and its desires are directed to the acquirement of certain knowledge, but not of such knowledge as appears to be certain but is not so in reality, the perfection of knowledge is obtained; from which prudence must necessarily result.

When the acts of the irascible soul are regulated by moderation, and it is submissive to the intellectual soul, and is contented with what the intellectual soul thinks suitable to it, and

never exceeds its proper bounds, mildness and composure of mind are acquired, and the virtue of fortitude necessarily follows.

* When the acts of the bestial soul are regulated by * 25 moderation, and it is obedient to the rational soul, and is satisfied with what the rational soul allows to it, and does not act contrary to it in gratifying its desires, the virtue of temperance is obtained; from which liberality must necessarily result.†

When these three virtues‡ are acquired and united in just proportions, this union produces a habit which is the perfection of the rest, and which is called the virtue of justice.

For these reasons all the philosophers of ancient and modern times have agreed in establishing four cardinal virtues, viz. prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice. No person is worthy of praise, or deserving of reputation and honour, except from the possession of one of these four virtues, or all of them.

Whenever a person derives honour from the nobility of his birth, such honour will be found to spring from the distinction acquired by some of his ancestors from the possession of some of these virtues; and if wealth should lead any person to assume superiority, it will not be granted to him by men of understanding. It has been explained in a former part of this work that the soul has two distinct faculties: understanding by itself, and motion by instruments. Each of these is divided into two parts: the first into speculation and practice; the second into

† This is an exact translation of the passage according to two copies of the work in my possession; but I am not free from doubt that an error may have crept into it owing to the carelessness of transcribers. The author deduces two of the cardinal virtues from a certain regulation and perfection of two of the faculties of the soul, according to the old division; making, however, this regulation and perfection a primary habit, to which he gives a specific term, and from which the cardinal virtues result as necessary consequences; but he has here put liberality in the place of the cardinal virtue concerning which he is particularly treating. Liberality indeed seems to have no connection with this chapter, which is confined to the four principal virtues; and it appears bold to assert that it must result as a necessary consequence from temperance.

‡ Prudence, fortitude, and temperance.

repulsion or anger, and attraction or lust. There are accordingly four faculties ; and when each rules in its proper place
 * 26 according to moderation and propriety, and without excess or defect, virtue is attained. The virtues, then, according to this division are also four :—One consists in the perfection of the speculative faculty, and is called prudence ; the second consists in the perfection of the practical faculty, and is called justice ; the third in the perfection of the irascible faculty, and is called fortitude ; and the fourth in the perfection of the concupiscible faculty, and is called temperance. Now, since the perfection of the practical faculty consists in the propriety of its acts, the acquirement of three other virtues, as has been before explained†.....

These virtues ‡ to render the possessor worthy of praise must be active ; if they should be confined to himself, and should not affect others, he is not deserving of honour. For instance, a man of liberality till he shall have given proofs of it by showing it in respect to others does not in reality deserve that appellation : the same may be said of fortitude and prudence. But when virtue displays itself, and communicates its good effects to others, it becomes in all respects the cause of hope and fear. Thus liberality gives rise to hope, fortitude to fear ; but in this world these two virtues relate to the animal soul, which is perishable. But the perfection of knowledge gives rise to hope and fear as well in this world as the next, as it relates to the angelic soul, which is immortal : and when hope and fear, which lead to exaltation and honour, are obtained, praise is due. With respect to the description of these virtues, prudence is said to consist in the knowledge of the signs of existences ; and since existences are either heavenly or human, prudence is of

† The author seems to mean that a man must possess prudence, fortitude, and temperance before his actions can possibly be proper.

‡ I have omitted a few sentences, which the author has introduced at this place to explain an apparent confusion occasioned by his using in this work the same term to express philosophy in general, and prudence as a particular virtue. This is, I believe, generally the case in the philosophical writings of the Arabs and Persians, though they have a distinct word (*Tilâfî*) corresponding with Philosophy—both indeed taken from the same source.

two kinds, viz. knowledge and practice. Fortitude consists in the subjection of the irascible soul to the rational, in order that it may be firm in the midst of danger, and act according to judgment, so that its acts may be right and its forbearance *praiseworthy. Temperance consists in the subjection *27 of the concupiscible to the rational soul, that its acts may be according to judgment and proper, and that it may be free from subjection to the desires of the mind and the pursuit of pleasure.

Justice consists in the union of the other habits, and the command of the discriminating power, so that the opposition of desires and contrariety of powers may not throw the possessor of it into the labyrinth of confusion, and that the influence of justice may be apparent in him.

Book III., Chapter 4.—*On the Government of a Country, and the Duties of Kings.*

HAVING generally explained the different kinds of societies, and the constitution which is suitable to each, it is now proper that I should treat more particularly respecting civil society; and I shall begin with the qualities of kings.

There are different kinds of government, each of which has an object and a necessary consequence. One is good, and is emphatically called "Security." Its object is to make men perfect, and its consequence the attainment of happiness.

The second kind is bad, and is emphatically called "Oppression." Its object is to enslave the people, and its consequence is misery.

A government of the first kind attends to justice, cherishes its subjects, fills its cities with the welfare of its people, and completely subdues all improper desires.

A government of the second kind gives itself up to injustice, enslaves and oppresses its subjects, fills its cities with the misery of its people, and gives way to every unjust and base desire.

The happiness of a people consists in security, tranquillity, mutual benevolence, justice, temperance, humanity, good faith, &c.

The misery of a people consists in insecurity, commotion, civil war, tyranny, ambition, violence, treachery, deceit, folly, slander, &c.

In both these conditions the people follow their rulers and imbibe their qualities; whence it has been said, "The
 * 28 qualities of the people are de*termined by those of their kings; and they follow the manners of the times in which they live, rather than those of their forefathers." And a king once said, "I am the time†." 1690

It is necessary that every one who aspires to the government of a kingdom should possess seven qualities:—1. Paternal kindness, which conciliates all hearts and removes all affliction and apprehension. 2. Magnanimity, which results from the perfection of the mental faculties; the moderation of anger, and the subjection of lust. 3. Firmness and consistency in counsel which result from close examination, full discussion, mature consideration, experience of what is found to give general satisfaction, and a knowledge of the course of past events. 4. Resolution in the execution of designs: this quality results from the union of a good design with complete firmness and perseverance; and without it the attainment of any virtue or the correction of any vice is not practicable: it is the first thing necessary to the attainment of happiness, and kings require it more than any other persons.

It is related that the caliph Mamoon was seized with an unnatural appetite for eating earth: this very soon produced a bad effect on his constitution, and he consulted his physicians respecting the remedies to be taken for his extraordinary disease. Various medicines were tried, but they all failed to produce the desired effect. One day when he and his physicians were consulting upon the case and referring to the different medical books, one of the caliph's acquaintances happened to come in. As soon as he discovered what was going forward he said, "O leader of the faithful, where is that resolution which be-

† This literal translation does not express the force of the original. The meaning is evident. Different times have different manners, but this king determined at his pleasure the manners of his people.

longs to kings?" Mamoon immediately said to his physicians, "You need not take any more trouble, I shall get the better of my disease."

The fifth quality is patience under adversity, and perseverance in what is tedious and fatiguing, which is the key to all that patience can desire, as has been said.

* "It is not suitable for a man of patience to think * 29 that he can rise to prosperity merely by his own means.†

"It is not proper for a man of patience who knocks at a door to think that he can get in of himself."‡

The sixth quality is clemency; and the seventh a disposition to encourage and forward what is right.

To a person who possesses this quality the first-mentioned is not absolutely necessary; and the sixth and seventh qualities will be acquired by means of the other, viz. magnanimity, firmness, and consistency in counsel, resolution in action, and patience.

It should be known that under the Divine Providence victory belongs but to two descriptions of persons,—those who have a demand for property, and those who have a demand for blood;§ and those who fight on any other account will in general be defeated. Of these two descriptions of persons, those who demand property which justly belongs to them are praiseworthy, the others are contemptible.

A government, in propriety, belongs to him who is able to remove its diseases and to preserve its health and permanency, so that the king shall be in fact the physician of the state. The diseases of a state arise from two causes,—a tyrannical king, and civil war. A tyrannical king is intrinsically base, and is only liked by those who are vicious and corrupt: internal warfare necessarily carries with it misery, and is agreeable to those only who are fond of sedition and tumult.

Although a tyrant has the appearance and form of a king, yet he is, in truth, the opposite to him. Rulers should consider it

† i. e. He must be patient till God vouchsafe to assist him.

‡ i. e. He must be patient till somebody in the house open the door.

§ i. e. Who claim revenge for the murder of some of their relations.

certain that the foundation of all governments rests on the agreement of a number of persons who unite together for the general good, and who are in respect to the state what the members are in respect to the human body. If that agreement be perfect and have a good tendency, the government is just, otherwise it is iniquitous and unjust.

* 80 * The reason that general agreement is the foundation of all government is this: Every man has a certain limited power; and when a number of men come together, their power is necessarily much greater than the power of a single man; when they are closely united, they are in fact like a single man, but no man can be found whose power is equal to theirs. A single man, therefore, is not capable of opposing an united number.

A number of men among whom unanimity does not prevail, and whose objects are all various, cannot be successful, because they are like separate individuals, who must necessarily be subdued by any one whose power is greater than that of each of them.

When a body of men are successful, if their institutions be wisely arranged, and if they be guided by justice, their dominion will long endure; but otherwise it will soon fall to pieces: for the opposition of pretensions and desires, with the absence of all that results from concord and unanimity, must lead to ruin. In general the prosperity of those states has increased whose chiefs have firmly adhered to their determinations, and have shown a strict observance of the conditions of their union.

The cause of the stationary condition as well as of the decline of a state is the thirst of the people for riches and grandeur. Those who have power very earnestly desire these two things; and as they assiduously pursue their desire all those of weak understandings follow their example. This inclination soon seizes others like a contagion, and entirely changes their original disposition: at last the people think of nothing but ease and pleasure; they lay aside their arms, forget the knowledge they had acquired in war, and feel disposed to nothing but idleness and luxury. In such a condition of a people if they should be attacked by a powerful enemy they must be easily subdued;

but if they should not be attacked by a foreign enemy, their wealth and grandeur will fill them with vanity and arrogance, disputes and contentions will arise among them, and these will end in civil war; so that they who at the commencement of their dominion could triumph over all who opposed them, in its decline fall a prey to any who choose to attack them.

The preservation of a state depends upon two things; on the satisfaction and unanimity of its chiefs, and on * 31 a firm opposition to all its enemies.

It is related that Alexander, after he had triumphed over Darius, found that the Persian forces were still numerous and brave, and well armed and equipped. It occurred to him that a very short time after he should leave Persia many persons would start up to revenge the death of Darius, and that the flames of war might even extend to Greece. Notwithstanding this conviction of the evils to be expected from the Persian chiefs, he considered that to destroy them would be contrary to every principle of religion and justice. In this difficulty he applied to the philosopher Aristotle for his advice. The philosopher recommended him to distract their counsels and separate their interests, so that they might be so much occupied with their own quarrels as not to think of disturbing the repose of Alexander. Alexander accordingly established a number of independent sovereigns in the country; and from that time to the time of Ardasher Babeck Persia did not enjoy a moment's peace, in which the revenge of Darius could be thought of.

It is the duty of a king to attend to the condition of his people, and to uphold and reverence the laws, so that his government may rest upon the firm foundation of justice.

The first necessary condition of justice is, that each order of the state should preserve its proper place: for as a good temperament of body results from a just union of the four elements, so a proper condition of a society results from a just proportion and regulation of the four orders of the state. First, men of letters, scientific and accomplished men; doctors of law and divinity, authors, accountants, arithmeticians, astronomers, physicians, and poets, who are the fundamental supporters of all

temporal and spiritual concerns: and these may be considered like water in the human frame.—Second, men of the sword—soldiers, those who fight for the faith, volunteers, and warriors, those who live in the frontier passes of the mountains, men of intrepidity and fortitude: they maintain the country and protect the government. By these the order of the world is preserved,

and they may be considered in the place of fire in the
 * 32 * human frame.—Third, men of business; as merchants who carry commodities from one country to another, artizans and manufacturers who are essentially necessary to the subsistence of the people: these may be considered in the place of air in the human frame.—Fourth, cultivators of the land, as ploughmen, sowers, labourers, &c., who raise the food upon which the whole society subsists, and without whose assistance the rest of the community must starve: these may be considered in the place of earth in the human frame.

Now as the predominance of one of the elements in the human frame destroys its just temperament and leads to dissolution, so the predominance of one order of the state over the other three destroys the just proportion and harmony of the whole, and necessarily leads to ruin.

One of the philosophers has justly said, “The excellence of the peasantry consists in giving the means of carrying on all affairs. The excellence of merchants consists in increasing property. The excellence of kings consists in forwarding wise counsels and good government. The excellence of the learned consists in forwarding truth and justice:—so that the whole together tend to fill the cities with virtue and happiness.”

The second condition is that attention should be paid to the condition and conduct of the citizens, and that each citizen should hold the place for which he is by his circumstances and qualifications fitted.

Men may be divided into five classes:—

First, those whose dispositions are naturally good, and who are actively virtuous. They are the most perfect of men, and are like jewels, pure as the sun. All those in the confidence of kings should belong to this class: they should be held in high

estimation, and never neglected nor unemployed; and they should be considered to be the superiors of all the rest of the people.

The second class consists of those whose dispositions are naturally good, but who have no active virtue. They should be treated with some respect, but a man should avoid any connection or dealing with them.

Third, those whose dispositions are neither particularly good nor bad. They should be allowed to enjoy security and quiet, and they should be * stimulated to virtuous ac- * 33
tions, so that they may attain the degree of perfection of which they may be capable.

Fourth, those whose dispositions are bad, but are not actively vicious. They should be considered to be despicable, but should be advised, exhorted, threatened, and encouraged to virtuous conduct. If their dispositions be in consequence changed, it is well; otherwise they should be treated with contempt and disdain.

Fifth, those whose dispositions and actions are both bad. They are the worst of men, and the most base of all things existing: their disposition is essentially the very opposite to that of the first class. In this class also there are degrees:—

1st, those of whose amendment hopes may be entertained. An attempt should be made to effect that amendment by all kinds of exhortation and all means of correction: if it should fail of effect, force must be used to prevent the operation of their vicious dispositions.

2nd, those of whose amendment no hopes can be entertained. If their vice should not be very active, moderate measures should be observed towards them; but if their vice should be active, and consequently affect others, their punishment must be considered to be just.

In the punishment of crimes there are different degrees:—

1st, that degree of personal restraint which prevents the guilty person from having any commerce with his fellow-citizens.

2nd, rendering him incapable of holding any possessions in the dominions of the state.

3rd, banishment.

If the crime should be of great magnitude,—such as maiming or murdering a human being,—the learned are divided in their opinions respecting the punishment which should be inflicted. In general, however, it is agreed that the member which was used as the instrument of committing the crime,—as the hand or foot,—should be cut off, or that the tongue should be taken out, or one of the organs of sense destroyed; but that capital punishment should not be inflicted, because they consider the destruction of any created being (in which the just and
 * 34 almighty God has imprinted * many signs of his power and skill), in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of its amendment and correction, to be contrary to reason.

These latter punishments should only be inflicted for the actual commission of a crime. For criminal intention nothing beyond the first-mentioned punishments should be inflicted. The general rule upon this subject is that the first object of attention is the good of the whole, the second that of the individual. In like manner, the first care of a physician, in applying a remedy to one part of the body, is to attend to the health of the whole; and if he finds that the existence of the diseased part destroys the health of the whole he does not hesitate to take it away; but if he should not apprehend that consequence he exerts all his ability to cure the part that is diseased.

Let the attention of kings be in the same manner directed to the correction of all those who require it.

The third condition:—

After attention shall have been shown to the due proportion of the different orders, and to the degrees comprehended within them, let care be taken that each person has his proper share of the general property, regard being paid to his qualifications and deserts. The general property should be sacred, that every man may receive his proper share, an excess or deficiency of which would be injustice: a deficiency is injustice to the indi-

vidual who receives; an excess is an injustice to the whole community: a deficiency may also be an injustice to the whole.

After the division of the general property shall have been settled, the next point is to secure it to those who have received it, by taking care that it does not pass out of their hands in a manner which may occasion loss to them or to the state. When such a case occurs, compensation should be made to the sufferer by taking it from those who caused the injury.

Property passes from the hands of its proprietor either with his consent or without it. In the first case it is by sale, loan, or gift; in the second by forcible robbery, or by secret stealth. Each has its proper conditions, and it is necessary that a compensation should in all cases be made, either *in *35 articles of the same or some other description, in order that property may be secure. It is also necessary that the compensation be so regulated that advantage should be derived by the state from the transaction, or at any rate that it should not suffer loss thereby; for no man can be permitted to take compensation in a manner detrimental to the interest of the state.

Crimes must be prevented by punishment, and punishment should be proportioned to the crime: for if the quantity of punishment be greater than the extent of the crime, that punishment is unjust towards the criminal. If the quantity of punishment be too small, an injustice is done to the state. Too great a quantity of punishment may also be an injustice to the state. Philosophers are divided in their opinions whether a crime against an individual be a crime against the state or not. Those who maintain the affirmative hold that the forgiveness of the individual who suffers the injury is not sufficient to do away the necessity of punishing the offender; the others are to the contrary opinion.

The rules of justice having been settled, the next object of a king should be beneficence towards his people. After justice there is no virtue of more consequence in the government of a

country than this. The fundamental principle of beneficence is to confer all possible benefits beyond what may be strictly due, attention being paid to the different merits of individuals. Strict care should also be taken to preserve the majesty of the government; for on this depend the dignity and splendour of the state. When the majesty of government is established; and it is regarded with reverential awe, let beneficence be exercised; for otherwise beneficence only excites in the people extreme avarice, disobedience, and violence; and when the people become extremely avaricious, if the whole country were given to one man he would not be satisfied.

The people must be obliged to observe the rules of justice and virtue: for as the perfection of the body depends upon the perfection of the disposition, the perfection of the disposition

on the perfection of the mind, and the perfection of the

* 36 mind on the perfection of its intellectual powers, * so

the perfection of a state depends upon a proper country, the perfection of a country on government, and the perfection of government on wisdom; and when wisdom exists in a government, it will also be just, and anxiously desirous of the highest attainable perfection. But where there is no wisdom there will be no justice; and when this is the case the prosperity of the country will disappear, tumults and sedition will succeed, all traces of humanity will be obliterated, and all the malignant passions will take the place of the benevolent affections.

It is necessary that free access should be open to those who come to seek justice. Accusations without proof should not be attended to; the sources of hope and fear to the people should not be shut; constant vigilance should be used to expel excitors of commotions, and to preserve the security of the public roads by means of the troops.

Men of sense and virtue should be conciliated and encouraged.

A king should not pursue those things which yield satisfaction to himself alone.

Let not a king desire a degree of superiority and grandeur which is not suitable to him. Let his mind be constantly occupied in reflecting and deliberating upon the concerns of his

government : for in the preservation of a state good counsel is of more efficacy than armies.

An injudicious commencement of an affair generally leads to a ruinous conclusion.

If a king does not attend to these things, but gives himself up to ease and pleasure, neglect of public business and injury to the state will be the result; every man will follow his inclination, till at last happiness shall be turned to misery, mutual hatred and internal convulsions will take place, and the order of things approved by the divine authority will be overturned. The people must once more call truth and justice to their aid, and arrange their affairs again from the beginning.

When a king obtains great power, let him not think that his enjoyments are hourly to increase : this is the worst thought that can possibly enter the head of a king. But let him, on the contrary, abridge not only * his hours of pleasure, but even the hours spent in eating, drinking, and sleeping, and converse with his family, and occupy the time saved in deliberation and public business.

Let him keep his designs secret, that he may be able to execute them with greater effect; and if the enemy should discover the secret, defensive measures will not then avail against their designs. In order that secrets should be properly kept, they should be communicated only to men of sense and discretion, who will not be the means of causing the design to fail. But secrets should never be communicated to persons of weak understandings, as women and young people.

When a design is about to be determined on, something contrary to it should also be proposed and talked of, that the real one may be with more difficulty discovered.

It is necessary that intelligencers should be constantly employed to give information of secret affairs, and particularly of the state and designs of the enemy : for correct intelligence of the designs of an enemy is the best of all instruments for defeating them.

A knowledge of the designs of an enemy is obtained by ascertaining and carefully considering the number of their

forces, the extent of their equipment, the assembling of their troops, and the disposition of them at different stations; their changing previous arrangements, such as calling together troops which had been dispersed, or dispersing those that had been collected; their increased exertion in collecting information respecting the proceedings of their enemy; their increased vigilance; and from such information as can be obtained by means of a secret understanding with the friends and female favourites of the enemy's rulers, and picked up from the careless talk of young persons, servants, and others of little judgment and discretion. It is also particularly necessary that the intelligencers should have a great deal of conversation with everybody, that they may form an acquaintance with a great number of persons, from whom, after a good deal of intercourse, all their secrets can be drawn forth. But an intelligencer should not depend upon information till he hears it from different quarters, and has good authority for it.

* Great advantage results from having correct information respecting all these things in determining upon all measures.

The greatest exertions should be made to conciliate, and to preserve the relations of harmony and good understanding; and every possible endeavour should on every occasion be used to obviate the necessity of war. If war should take place, a state can only be in one of two predicaments. It must either make the attack, or resist it. If the former be the case, its objects should only be the recovery of what legally belongs to it, and what is strictly right; conquest and aggrandizement are not legitimate objects in making war.

When war is actually commenced, vigour and vigilance should be exercised: no battle should be fought without a pretty good assurance of success; and it should not on any account be attempted if the whole army be not staunch to the cause: for to go between two enemies is the greatest of all mistakes. A king should not, except on occasions of the greatest urgency and importance, go into battle himself; for should

he be defeated, the disgrace is irreparable; and even if he should be victorious, the dignity of the government must in some degree be impaired by the king's going into action himself, when that step can possibly be avoided.

Let a king choose for the command of his army a person possessing the following qualities:—

1st, courage, for which he should have an established reputation.

2nd, a correct judgment, and a talent for stratagem and finesse.

3rd, a long experience in military affairs. When your ends in respect to an enemy can be accomplished by means of counsel, arms should never be used: as Ardishir Basik said, "Never use a stick when a whip is sufficient; and never use a sword when a mace will answer the purpose." War, in affairs of state, is like the cautery in medicine—the last resource. In getting the better of an enemy all sorts of stratagems and machinations and deceit may be resorted to; but breach of faith is in no case allowable.

In war nothing is so important as constant vigilance and alertness, and the employment of intelligencers and reconnoitring parties.

* Attention should always be paid to the advantage * 39 to be gained by war. Unless the advantage should fully compensate the loss of men and military stores, it should not be undertaken.

Great care should be used in choosing a field of battle. The strongest ground should be occupied; and ditches or breastworks should never be made, except in cases of extreme necessity: for the enemy will certainly derive an advantage from that conduct.

Every person who distinguishes himself by his bravery should receive the highest honours and rewards.

Coolness and deliberation are necessary in battle; and rashness and precipitancy must be avoided.

One of the greatest mistakes in war is despising the force of your enemy, and acting upon that notion. It is said in the divine book, "A small number often triumph over a large number." After obtaining a victory let not strict vigilance be relaxed. When it is possible to take the enemy alive, let them not be cut to pieces, for much advantage results from taking prisoners: such as making slaves of them, detaining them as hostages, getting money by their ransoms, having the means of doing a good and gracious act by releasing them; but in putting the enemy to death there is no advantage.

After a victory is obtained, the enemy who may have fallen into your hands should on no account whatever be put to death or treated with cruelty: for a conquered enemy is in the condition of your own slave or subject.

It is related in the Histories of the Philosophers that Aristotle having received information that Alexander, after having taken a city, put the inhabitants to the sword, wrote a letter of reproof, in which he said, "Though you were excusable in killing the enemy whilst they opposed you, what justification can you have for putting them to death when they were subdued, and had become your own dependants?"

Clemency is a virtue, which shines with peculiar lustre in kings. The exercise of it in those who have great power deserves the highest praise. A certain author, in treating
 *40 of clemency, has justly said, "I hold it to be * my duty to forgive all those who offend me, although their offences may have been great. There is no man who does not belong to one of three classes—my superiors, my inferiors, and my equals. I know the respect due to my superior, and I show it to him accordingly. If my inferior use disrespectful language to me, I attend to my dignity, and take no notice of it, however much I may be slighted by the scorners for not doing so. If my equal offend me, I in return do him a kindness; for he who returns good for evil is the superior."

In war, if your force is equal to that of the enemy, no time should be lost in making the attack: for in general those who are attacked in their own dominions are defeated.

If you should not be able to oppose the enemy, all possible exertions should be made to strengthen your fortifications: and in negotiating a peace, money should not be spared, and all possible address and circumvention should be employed.

These are the principles of government.*

* These principles have little novelty to European readers. But it is important to observe the coincidence of the moral and political maxims of distant countries and ages, as well as to remark their differences. The contrast between the liberality and purity of these excellent principles and the ordinary practice of Mahomedan nations is very striking to those who are familiar with the history of the East.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAVES IN SALSETTE,

ILLUSTRATED WITH DRAWINGS OF THE PRINCIPAL FIGURES AND CAVES.

By HENRY SALT, Esq. (now Consul-General in Egypt).

*Read 25th August 1806.**Suez, 13th February 1806.*

SIR,

I REQUEST that you will do me the honour of laying before the Society the accompanying account of the caves on the island of Salsette. I am extremely sorry that my journey into Abyssinia and other avocations have prevented the possibility of my completing it in the manner I could have wished: I could only have been induced to send it in its present state from the delay which would necessarily ensue before I could forward it by any conveyance from England.

I am indebted to Major Atkins, of the Bombay establishment, for the geometrical plan of the hill, and for the ground-plan and sections of the great cave at Kenery; the other drawings are from my own sketches on the spot, which I hope the Society will do me the honour of accepting.

I beg leave to repeat that I shall have great pleasure in executing in London any orders from the Society.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY SALT.

An Account of the Caves on the Island of Salsette.

JOGHEYSEER CAVES.

About eight miles to the northward of Mahim † is the village of Ambollee, from whence the Jogheyseer Caves lie near-
 * 42 ly two miles distant in a * north-easterly direction.
 Over the sloping path that leads to the western entrance

† A small town at the N.W. point of the island of Bombay, whence there is a ferry to the island of Salsette.

is a natural arch formed by the branches of a banyan-tree which stretching across the path have taken root on the opposite side, giving a very picturesque appearance to the entrance: a descent of eight steps then conducts to a small anteroom (*vide* A in the ground-plan), which is divided into three compartments by two pillars and two pilasters on each side;—the figures carved around the walls of this chamber have nearly disappeared from decay, but the frame and cornice of the door through which you pass from it to the great cave have still the appearance of having been once finished with a variety of sculpture neatly executed; and over the door are groups of small figures, amongst which may be observed two tolerably perfect, in the attitudes in which Ramah and Seta are often represented. The great cave into which you now enter is about one hundred and twenty feet square; at about eighteen feet inwards are twenty pillars of the same order as those at Elephanta, forming an inner square, within which again is a chamber about twenty-four feet square, with doors answering to each other on the four sides. This is evidently a temple dedicated to Mahadeo, as on a pedestal in the centre is the lingam, covered with holy red paint, and over it a small bell on a wooden frame decorated with flowers, to which our Gontoo attendants paid the customary homage. The walls of this temple were externally adorned with sculptured figures, the only vestiges of which remaining are on the eastern side, representing dwarfs, which from their situation seem to have supported larger figures, as at Elephanta. Though it is now usual to go in on the western side, yet it appears to me that the eastern was formerly the principal entrance, as greater attention seems to have been paid to the decorations of this side than of the other; and the various representations of the deity are such as were likely to impress his votaries with more suitable awe—a circumstance seldom unattended to by the Brahmins. The eastern side is more open to the air, to which may in some measure be attributed the better preservation of the figures, which I shall proceed to describe. Over the first doorway (marked in the ground-plan C) is a figure with five heads and twelve or more hands, supporting a throne on

* 43 * which is seated a male with four hands; on his left is a female looking up to him, and on his right a figure kneeling: the attendants are numerous, and some of fantastic forms;— amongst the gods the figure of Ganesa is chiefly conspicuous. I imagine this to represent Ramah and Seta supported by Rawan (for this design *vide* No. 1, drawing No. 4). The whole of this curious design is comprised under an arch vomited forth by a monster with the mouth of an hippopotamus, the trunk of an elephant, and the body ending in a dragon's tail. In the first vestibule (marked *d* in the ground-plan), which is divided by two rows of pillars, is a large figure of Ganesa covered with red paint; the other compartments were originally filled with gigantic figures, but they are now crumbled to dust. Between the first and second vestibule is a small space open to the sky (marked *e* in the ground-plan); and above the door of the second is a small cave, which was never completed. This second vestibule (marked *f* in the ground-plan) is about thirty feet square, and intersected by four pillars and two pilasters on each side: at its western end are three doorways opening into the large cave; over the centre one is a stately figure seated on a cushion, in the attitude in which Boudha is often represented; he holds a string of beads in his right hand and a lotus in his left, and seems listening with devout attention to an aged muneer kneeling beside him (*vide* No. 2, drawing No. 5). On each side of the centre doorway are other groups: one of these is a hero leaning on a dwarf, who grasps in his hands two enormous snakes that are closely entwined round his body (*vide* No. 3, drawing No. 5). Over this is the design (No. 4, drawing No. 5), which may be intended for Parbuttee with the bull Nundee:— it is curious to observe how complete a caduceus is formed by the snake twisting round a sceptre in the right hand of the hero of this piece. From hence crossing to the south side of the great cave, we find a verandah extending the whole length of the cave (*vide g g* in the ground-plan); the rock forming the roof is supported by ten massive pillars of the same order as those in the inside (for which *vide* No. 2, drawing No. 4), which order is, as far as I had an opportunity of seeing, invariably



AMBOLLE AND MONTPEZIR CAVES.

used in all flat-roofed excavations. There are three doors and two windows *from the great cave into the * 44 verandah; the latter are exactly the Venetian, or what are now termed Wyatt windows. The cornices of both doors and windows are elegantly carved, and there are panels hollowed out above them filled with groups of small figures, in one of which stands prominently forth a female figure carrying the lotus. At the west end of the verandah is a small cell, the bottom of which was filled with water; beside this is a small temple (marked *h* in the ground-plan), in the centre of which is the lingam, and in front of it a small statue of Derma Deva. At the east end are other cells, and a passage leading up into the jungle. These caves are all about fifteen feet high, and the roof flat throughout. It appears to me that the very rapid decay which has taken place here, in comparison with the other caves on the island, is occasioned by their being excavated beneath the level of the surrounding country, and not in the side of a hill as elsewhere. The tigers with which the island abounds resort to these desolate caverns in search of water; for we could plainly distinguish their footsteps crossing the avenues in different directions, and I was informed by some of the villagers that they take up their abode here altogether during the dry season.

MAGATANIE CAVES.

About six miles north of the Jogheyseer Caves are those of Magatanie. These have at first sight more the appearance of being excavated for the sake of the materials than for forming temples devoted to any deity; though on nearer inspection the regularity with which they are cut, and the mouldering figures still ornamenting the walls, make it evident that such was their destination. A slight descent leads to the front of the principal cave, before which is a tank cut in the rock, even at present filled with water. This cave is but of a moderate size, open in front and behind, and having on each side two doors leading to as many dark cells; the roof of it is low, flat, and supported by pillars that are neither so well proportioned in their dimensions, nor so well finished in their several parts, as those in the

other excavations. Beyond this cave is an area exposed to the sky, round which are excavated a number of small and
 * 45 unequal-sized cells: the entrance to * most of them is choked up by thick entangled bushes, through which I was not inclined to attempt a passage, their external appearance promising but little in their favour. On the wall of one of those less difficult of access is a large figure seated on a bench, with two attending figures carved in alto-relievo like the design (marked No. 1, drawing No. 2) at Kennery, which I suppose to represent Boudha, but it is much defaced.

MONTPEZIR CAVE.

About two miles north-by-west from the caves of Magatanie is Montpezir, where stand the ruins of a Catholic monastery built by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century. This monastery covers a large extent of ground, was built with great solidity, and, if any judgment may be formed from what remains, the chapel appears to have been elegantly finished, the mouldings, ornaments, and images of wood now lying scattered about the place being very curiously and handsomely carved. Below the monastery, on the eastern side of the hill, is excavated an ancient Hindoo temple, which was afterwards converted to the use of the monastery—for what purpose it would be now difficult to ascertain. Its walls and pillars were by the Portuguese covered with a thick coat of plaster, which has proved the means of preserving the few mutilated remains of sculpture that their bigotry had spared. In a recess on the left hand as you enter (*vide a* in the ground-plan) is the painting of a saint, still fresh, on the wall: opposite to this are now visible (the plaster having been removed) the relics of a fine piece of sculpture (*vide* No. 1, drawing No. 5) representing, as it appears to me, a nuptial ceremony;—a female figure leaning on her attendants seems advancing towards the hero of the piece, who is of gigantic stature and has six arms; in one corner is a musician playing on the tom-tom, and above are a host of celestial attendants, amongst which the three-headed Brahma, Vishnu riding on Garuḍa with the lotus in his hand, and Ganesa with his usual attributes, are at once discovered. This and the sa-

cred *cobra de capelle* on his right, at once point out Sieva as the leading figure; and it is doubtless meant to represent his marriage with Parwuttee, like that at Ellora in the Doomar Leyna, described by Sir Charles Mallet in the Asiatic Researches.

The only figures besides these *at present freed from *46 the plaster are in the cave marked (c) in the ground-plan, which was in November 1805 so filled with mud as to be inaccessible. The pillars are of the order of Elephanta (*vide* No. 2, drawing No. 4); the form and dimensions of the caves will be best seen by the ground-plan, which is drawn on a scale, though the measurements are not very accurately taken. I cannot quit this place without remarking that there is perhaps no spot in the world where the Catholic and Heathen imagery come so closely in contact as here,—where a Portuguese monastery has a temple of the Hindoos for its foundation, and where the exploits of their God of Terror are sculptured on one side, and the form of a meek Christian saint painted on the other.

KENERY CAVES.

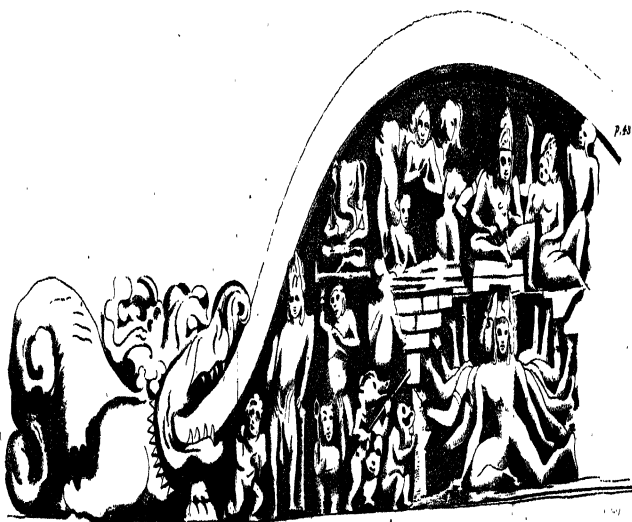
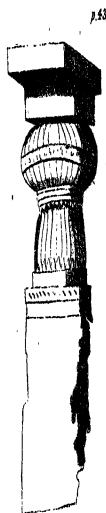
About nine miles east-south-east from Montpezir are the more celebrated caves of Kenery, called by Hamilton and some of its earlier visitors the City of Canorin. As there is no regular road † to them from Montpezir, it was necessary to clear a path as we proceeded, the whole of this part of the island being covered with a thick and almost impenetrable jungle: this prevented us from seeing much of the surrounding country; yet at times, as we descended into the gullies down which the torrents rush in the rainy season, the scenery, though still confined, was extremely wild and picturesque. The ascent to the hill, in the sides of which the caves are excavated, is tolerably gradual until within a few hundred yards of the southernmost, when the path becomes steep and rugged, and so closely shaded with

† The caves of Kenery are perfectly accessible from the main road leading from Bombay to Tannah, the principal town of Salsette. From Montpezir if Mr. Salt had had more leisure he would probably have gone to Gorabunder, the northern point of the island, from which place to Tannah it is usual to go in boats along a narrow channel bordered by scenes of singular beauty. [There is a direct road through Bhāṇḍup, on the G. I. P. R. line.—Ed.]

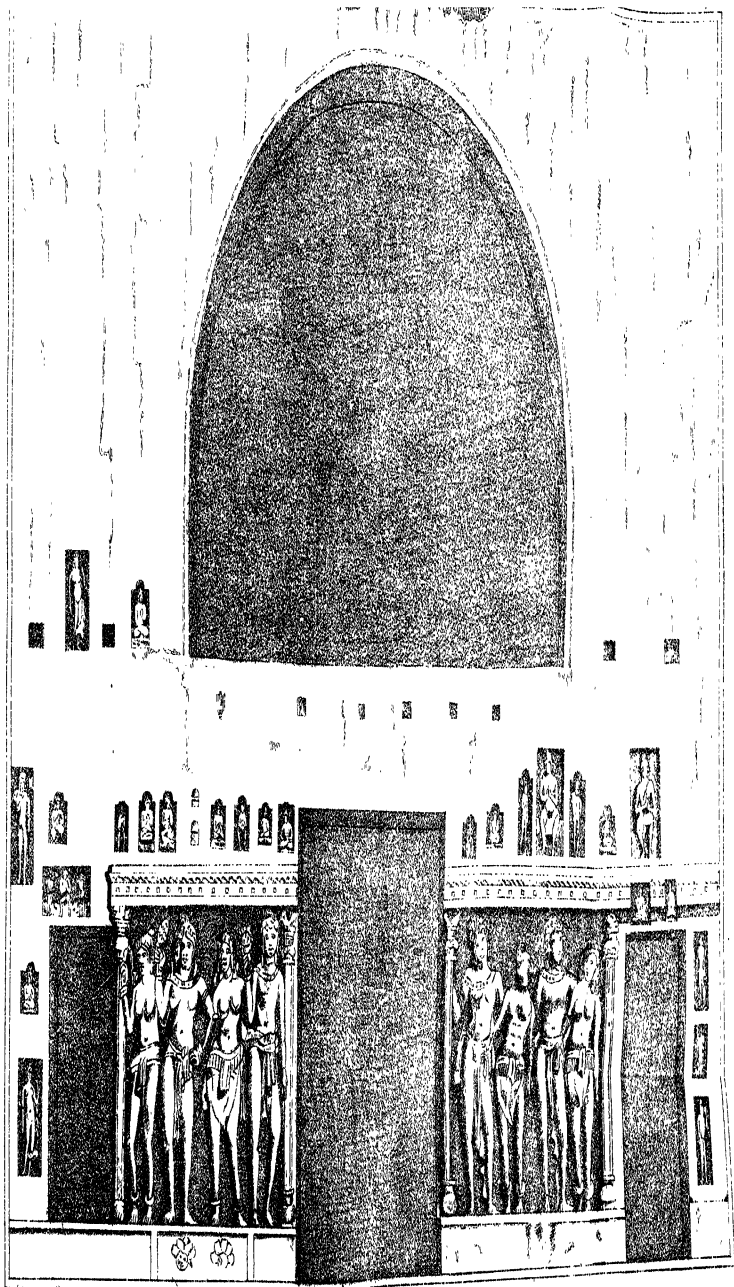
shrubs and lofty trees as to conceal every appearance of the caves until you are actually in front of them: this gives a very striking effect to the first (marked *a* in sketch of the hill), which bursts at once upon the view:—this, however, excepting its external appearance, has little curious about it, or worthy of remark. Two massive columns boldly carved support a plain * 47 and solid entablature, over which is hollowed out into an oblong square (*vide* sketch of the front, marked No. 6). Within are two anterooms, each about thirty-five feet broad and twelve deep; and beyond, an unfinished chamber about twenty-six feet deep. The front screen has three doors, and three windows over them; and the wall which divides the second anteroom from the inner chamber has three doors in it, and over the centre one a large open arch rising nearly to the roof, something like what is seen in the screen of the great cave (*vide* drawing No. 3): under it are holes in the wall, that seem to have been intended for joists. In this cave are no figures or carved ornaments. It appeared to me, from what I here observed, that the artificers began their labour at top, and worked downwards. From hence an irregular excavation is continued up to the great cave, from which it is divided by so thin a partition that by some accident a communication has been broken through. In this irregular excavation are left two *dhagopes*, or solid masses of stone bearing the form of a cupola, which I have no doubt are the same as those described by Mr. Harington, in the Asiatic Researches, as general appendages to the temples of Boudha in Ceylon, and which exist in the caves of Ellora and Carli. The three sides of the deep recess before which the southernmost *dhagope* stands are divided into panels, in which are carved one, two, or more figures in alto-relievo. It will be necessary to premise that the principal figure, which is so frequently repeated on the walls of these excavations,—and which, I suppose, from the particular curling of the hair, from the disposition of the drapery invariably leaving the right arm and breast bare, and from one of the positions in which he is here represented agreeing exactly with his statues in Ceylon, to be the figure of Boudha,—is found only in four attitudes,



p. 51.

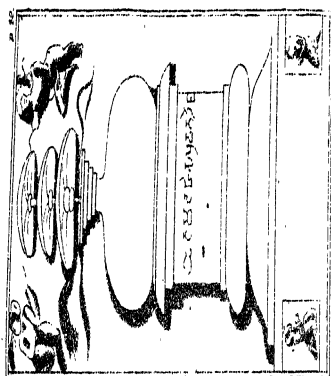


KENERY JAGHEYERER AND MONTPEZIR CAVES.



FRONT OF THE SCREEN OF KENNEY CAVE.

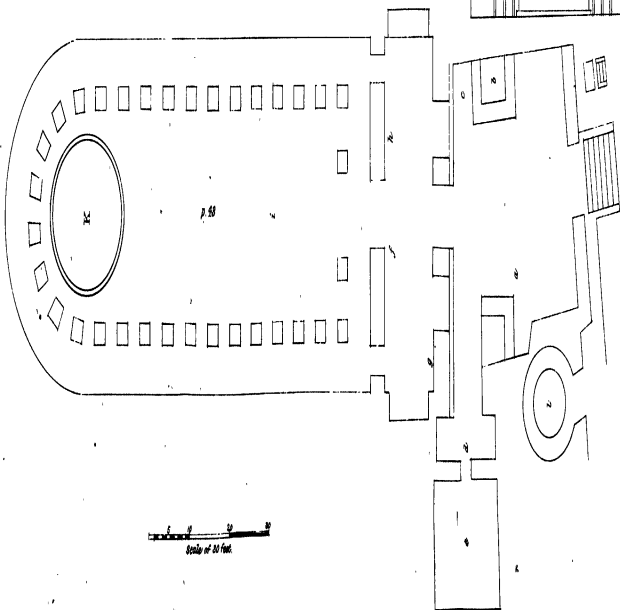
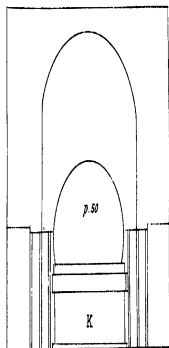
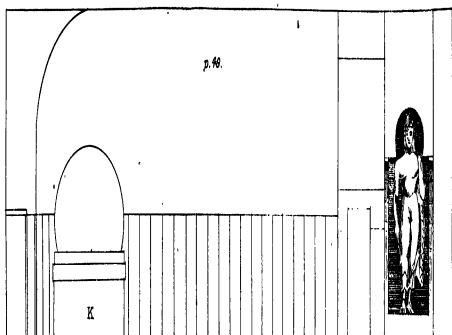
THE KENNY CAVES



which, for the sake of referring to, I shall call first, second, third, and fourth, and which I have similarly marked in the drawing No. 4. There are seven figures of him in the third attitude above six feet high in the panels above mentioned; and in one instance a figure holding a lotus in his left hand is carved in the same panel, and placed on an equality with that of Boudha (for which *vide* No. 4, drawing No. 2). This same figure is in another panel sculptured with a small figure of Boudha over his head (*vide* No. 3, drawing No. 2); and around, in smaller compartments, are designs exhibiting actions connected with his history, as I am led to believe from his figure appearing predominant in all. Near these is a row of small panels filled with figures of Boudha in the first and fourth attitudes; and amongst them one small figure with a crown on his head, the lotus in his left hand, and the right raised to a parallel with his shoulder (*vide* No. 2, drawing No. 7). Behind the northern *dhagope* is a figure of Boudha seated on a couch supported by lions; and on either side of him a youthful figure carrying a *chowrie*, besides which the one on his left bears the lotus; beneath are boys hooded by *cobra de capelles*, that support with their hands the stem of a lotus-flower on which rest the feet of Boudha: behind these are two boys in supplicating postures; and above are two others flying, and carrying in their hands what cannot at present be ascertained. I consider this design (*vide* No. 1, drawing No. 2), which is repeatedly found with little variation in these excavations, as presenting many circumstances that may assist in elucidating what these carvings were intended to represent. It is in the first place observable that the three figures are placed on lotus-flowers springing from the same stem; secondly, from their holding chowries it is evident that the two figures standing are subordinate to the one seated in the centre; yet, from the head-dress and the lotus, it is, I think, clear that one of these is the same person that is figured in No. 3 and No. 4, drawing No. 2, which I conceive to be no other than Vishnoo, whose image is often found in like manner in the temples of Boudha in Ceylon, but, as Mr. Harington observes, considered by his follow-

ers as an inferior *deva*. His appearing in the character of the Preserver in all the small designs in No. 3, drawing No. 2, may tend to confirm this opinion.—Leaving the irregular excavation, you pass by the edge of a small tank to the front of the great cave, which, from its resemblance to some Gothic buildings, or from a tradition that it was converted to that use by the Portuguese, is commonly called the Church. An ascent of five or six steps leads to the portal, which was once either arched over or much higher than at present, as the broken figures on each side sufficiently show: this opens into an area of an unequal square (marked *a* in the ground-plan, drawing No. 1), a form which they were compelled to

*adopt on account of the shelving of the rock, as elsewhere they seem to have studied strict regularity in the general plan. On each side of the area stands a lofty column connected by one side to the rock (*vide bb* in ground-plan); the one on the right hand as you enter has upon its capital three lions couchant, and its pedestal is cut in panels, one of which has a figure in it with a human body ending in a snake, the heads of which form a hood over the figure (*vide* No. 9, drawing No. 1). Of this I have before seen a statue in one of the ruined temples of Shevensummooder. The other is single-shafted, and mounted with dwarfish figures above the capital. Beyond the first (at *C* in ground-plan) are carved on the wall two *dhagopes*, over one of which is a tier of umbrellas like those held in so much honour in the empire of Siam as to be reserved for the king alone (*vide* English translation of Monsieur Loubère, part i., p. 42), and on the face of it an inscription (as in No. 2, drawing No. 2). Beyond the other column is an opening in the rock communicating with two cells (marked in ground-plan *d* and *e*): in the first are five large figures of Boudha in the third attitude, boldly carved in appropriate niches or panels; on the border of one of these, amidst a profusion of ornaments, is carved a figure that seems to belong to the Devadasgul, whose poetical employment is showering down flowers on the favourite votaries of the different deities—a custom very frequently mentioned in the Ramayan.



KENERY CAVE.

The whole space of the further end of the area is occupied by the front facing of the cave, which is divided by plain columns into three square portals beneath, and five windows above; this opens into the vestibule (marked *f* in the ground-plan), where the screen represented in the drawing No. 3 presents itself; and at each end a statue † of Boudha, twenty-three feet high, placed in recesses the arches of which are made to appear as if supported by fluted columns (*vide* section marked No. 2 in drawing No. 1). Though these figures are by no means well proportioned, yet their air, size, and general management give an expression of *grandeur that the best sculptors have often failed in attaining; the laziness of the attitude, the * 50 simplicity of the drapery, the suitableness of their situation, and the plainness of the style in which they are executed, contrasted with the meretricious ornaments around, all contribute towards producing this effect. The carved work of the screen is only interesting from the variety of matter it contains; as all the figures are extremely rude, ill put together, and disproportioned; and the dancing figures in the lower range have almost the appearance of being moulded in clay. Amongst the figures of Boudha, a small one above the centre door (*vide* Fig. 1, drawing No. 7) deserves particular notice, as the head is covered with the conet ‡ that ever adorns the head of the Chinese deity Fo, who has often been supposed to be the same as Boudha. There are two inscriptions in this vestibule, one (*vide* Inscription No. 1) over the dancing figures at *g* in the ground-plan, and the other (*vide* Inscription No. 2) on the wall at *h*. From the vestibule are three doors into the great cave (marked *i* in the ground-plan), which is in its greatest extent eighty-three feet long by thirty broad, and circular at the further end; a close colonnade runs round the whole at six feet from the wall; from the top of the columns rises a circular arch roughly cut,

† I term these statues, though they are connected behind to the wall, as it appears to me that they are too prominently carved even for alto-relievo, as are indeed many figures in these excavations.

‡ At the temple of Boudherghya, which seems to bear great similarity to these, Mr. Harington observes that this distinction never is found on the head of Boudha's statues.

opening into the vestibule, which forms the roof of the centre compartment: the roof of the aisle is flat, and of the height of the pillars (*vide* section No. 3, drawing No. 1); only six of the pillars are complete with base and capital on the right side (like that represented in No. 4, drawing No. 1), and eleven on the left; all the rest being plain shafts, which gives the cave a very irregular appearance. The figures on the tops of the finished columns are small and meanly executed, differing each from the other, but chiefly consisting of elephants and lions (*vide* Nos. 4 and 5, drawing No. 1); the former are grasping large jars with their trunks; and in one (No. 6) pouring the contents over a *dhagope*, and in another (No. 7) over a tree, which I suppose to be the *Pra sa ma pout*, or holy tree of the great Boudha; under which are two stones or lingams that exactly resemble

* what are called Sema, and esteemed sacred in the empire of Siam, as Monsieur Loubère mentions, who has given a drawing of them (*vide* Part iii., p. 114). At the bottom of the great cave, at five feet distant from the lower columns, is a solid *dhagope*, forty-nine feet in circumference, marked *k* in ground-plan and sections: there is another resembling this, with some additional ornaments, immediately on the right hand after returning out of the area, enclosed in a circular excavation (*vide l* in the ground-plan), the whole interior surface of which is divided into panels filled with figures of Boudha, which do not materially differ from what have been before described. From hence turning round an angle of the rock to the eastward (*vide* general plan of the hill at D) is a long and winding ascent by steps cut in the rock, leading to many smaller caves along the edge of a deep gully, down which flows a stream of water from the hills. There are ranges of caves on both sides of this gully at different heights, as was found most convenient, communicating by steps one with the other; and at some distance above are the remains of an artificial embankment erected across the gully, which once formed a capacious reservoir, and at the same time a general communication between the two sides. Amongst the caves there is one on the southern side, called the Durbar cave

(marked E in sketch of the hill), that chiefly deserves notice : it has eight pillars, forming an open verandah in front, at the east end of which is a small temple with a large figure of Boudha in it. The pillars dividing the verandah and inner apartment are of different architecture from any in the other excavations. The inner apartment is seventy feet long by thirty deep ; in its walls are several doors leading to small separate caves beyond. It would require much leisure to take accurate note of the numerous excavations besides that are dispersed over different parts of the hill, many of which are now very difficult of access, from the euphorbias and other shrubs that have grown up in front of them ; they seem to have been executed wherever the rock presented a convenient facing. I went into many of them, and observed much uniformity in their general plan with the Durbar cave, though on a much smaller scale : in most of them are figures of Boudha and his attending * ministers, * 52 but differing little from those below, except in being more rudely carved. There are long inscriptions before some of them that might be easily copied ; otherwise I think the most accurate investigation will find in them little worthy of attention. There are detached ranges of steps cut in the rock nearly up to its summit, which, from frequent use in former days, or from the inclemency of the seasons, are now difficult to be traced. There is also on the east side of the hill a broad, long, and level terrace that commands a very fine prospect of the surrounding country, near which are six or seven large tanks hollowed in the rock, out of which appear to have been cut a number of square stones of equal dimensions, which lie in confusion around ; these either formed, or were intended to form, some kind of edifice, as there are marks in many of them of their having been clamped together by lead or other metallic fastenings.

(Signed) HENRY SALT.

[The following notices occur in the *Transactions of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* :—vol. I., pp. 34-41, Couto's *Decade*, bk. III., chap. x., *Island of Salsette and Canari Pagoda*; vol. III., p. 39, *Cave Temples and Monasteries of Western India*, by the Rev. J. Wilson, D.D.; vol. IV., p. 132, *Note on the Rock Inscriptions in Salsette*, by the Rev. Dr.

Stevenson; *id.*, p. 340, another account by Dr. Wilson; vol. V., p. 1, Kánheri Inscriptions, &c., by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson; vol. VI., p. 1, Kánheri Inscriptions, by E. W. West, Esq.; and *id.*, p. 116, Kánheri Topes, by the same writer; and p. 157 a third paper by Mr. E. W. West; vol. VIII., p. 227, Verification of certain Dates by Dr. Bháu Dáji from Kánheri Inscriptions. See also *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. VII., pp. 147-152. See also *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V., p. 87; *id.*, vol. VIII., pp. 34, 63 (*Rock-cut Temples of India*, by J. Ferguson, Esq.); *As. Res.*, vol. XVII., p. 188; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV., p. 167; see also Daniell's *Views of Agra, Dehli, &c., and of Elephanta and Salsette*; *Historical Researches*, by James Bird, Esq. (Bombay, 1847), p. 10; *Antiquities of Orissa*, by Bábu Rajendralál Mitra, vol. I., p. 23; Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, vol. II., p. 171.—Ed.]

ON THE SIMILITUDE BETWEEN THE GIPSY AND HINDOOSTANEE LANGUAGES.

By Lieutenant FRANCIS IRVINE, of the Bengal Native Infantry.

Read 29th February 1808.

It has been ascertained that among those tribes which, under the name of Gipsies, Egyptians, and Zingaros, traverse the various kingdoms of Europe, there are current various words and phrases not in use among the other classes of the community. This peculiar phraseology may be called gibberish or jargon; but it is not to be supposed that any description of men speak a language without some consistence and character. It does not appear to be altogether what is called professional cant, or a debased and vulgar species of the tongues vernacular in their respective countries of domiciliation. The character of the tribe for dishonesty may suggest another solution—that it is a fabrication for the purposes of concealment and fraud. Even a less urgent motive, the caprice of idleness and power, has induced men to tamper with language. We are told by Captain Vancouver that when he visited Otaheite for the last time he found the new chiefs of the island had fixed new names on various objects. He naturally enough used the old ones, until he was given to understand that though his ignorance excused him in the beginning, it would be taken ill should he persist in not employing the new phraseology. Still it may safely be asserted that the tendency of language in its principal feature is to continuance, not to change: one generation instinctively adopts the speech of another, nor alters it but through ignorance or inadvertency. Even such dialects as are occasionally fabricated for a purpose are deduced from some real spoken one by a certain rule and analogy: for otherwise their invention would not be easy or obvious, nor their reception ready or rapid.

* The methods pursued are two; of which the first and * 54 most obvious consists in distorting the sounds usually

significant of certain objects and actions. Not to mention other instances, the various tribes of Nuts in Hindoostan appear, from Colonel Richardson's account, to employ this artifice. The second consists in assigning new meanings to known sounds, and, besides some doubtful instances in former times, has been resorted to in our own by the sect of Weishaupt, the United Irish, and the royalist conspirators against the consular government of France. The depredators on the river Thames would also try their ingenuity in this way; and Mr. Colquhoun gives the following specimen of their skill:—

Sand	signifies	Sugar.	Vinegar	signifies	Rum, &c.
Beans	„	Coffee.	Malt	„	Tea.
Pease	„	Pimento	or	Pepper.	

It is not improbable that the Gipsies have enriched their language in both these ways. Thus, in the last, the English Gipsies call themselves travellers; and smuggling is said to be styled a free trade. Those of other countries probably take the like liberties with the languages there spoken; but there appears to be a residue of their dialect, which cannot be proved to spring either from the debasement or the adaptation of the vernacular tongues, or of any one of them. This remainder, which seems common to all the tribes, however dispersed, must have a common source, to be discovered elsewhere; and a question arises, What has been the original country of these wanderers? of what language is theirs a fragment—pure, debased, or artificially disguised?

Opinions are various, but the majority of inquirers lay it down as probable that the original Gipsies were in early times a race of wanderers in Hindoostan, wherein they practised itinerant arts similar to those they now exercise. They would speak a dialect of the language then vernacular, but probably an impure one, until, propelled by a roving spirit, or fugitives from the vengeance of the law, they migrated into other countries. In them their long and intimate intercourse with the natives has caused the local tongues to supplant the greater part of their national speech, and to tinge even the remainder, which has been preserved through the wandering habits and

imperfect domiciliation of the race, *and from the terms 'com-
 posing it being in general expressive of ideas familiar to
 their life and ever present to their thoughts. Yet, dili- * 55
 gently examined, it will betray its Hindoostanee charac-
 ter, and thence the Hindoostanee original of the race.

I chanced to find in the *Preston East Indiaman*, in the out-
 ward-bound voyage 1805, a recruit for the Company's European
 force, named John Lee, who had spent some part of his life
 amongst the Gipsies, and knew their language. I possessed
 at the time some scanty knowledge of Hindoostanee, and had
 been instructed by Dr. Gilchrist in the use of his accurate or-
 thographical key, well adapted for the notation of sounds; and
 being aware of the theory just mentioned being maintained, I
 thought an opportunity offered of putting it to the test. I ac-
 cordingly interrogated the Gipsy on his language; but the words
 yielded by his answers were few in number, being about one
 hundred and forty in all. And yet I judge them no inconsider-
 able part of the Anglo-Gipsy language, and nearly all my in-
 formant remembered. As I proceeded, I found the same word
 to occur in various senses: thus *kosht* was any thing of wood;
yagenguree, any instrument connected with fire; *jookil* was dog,
 fox, or jackal; and *machuker*, cat, rat, mouse, or monkey indiffer-
 ently. His answers, too, would sometimes vary; but what follows
 I conceive to be the just and general result of repeated inquiries.

In the list subjoined, the first column is of Gipsy words al-
 phabetically arranged. They are written in Dr. Gilchrist's
 orthography, except that the *a* here used is the sharp English,
 and not the broad Hindoostanee letter, and *ng* final is sounded
 as in the English word *sung*, not as in the Hindoostanee word
sung, a stone. After the Gipsy words are added their meanings
 in English, or the principal of them. In the next column
 are Hindoostanee words of the same or a similar signification.
 They are written according to Dr. Gilchrist's system, and all
 rest on his authority except the Sanskrit word *kástch*, †wood,
 to be found in the 8th Discourse of Sir William Jones. To
 this and another Sanskrit word I add an S to distinguish.

† Should be *káshṭa*.—Ed.

them; and in like manner an F and a U respectively to denote words certainly Farsee or Urubee†; but words spring-
 * 56 ing from the old *Hinduwee are not marked, as being the most numerous. Of the combinations admitted, some may never have been in use; but they have some analogy in their formation.

GIRSY.

HINDOOSTANEE.

<i>Bala</i> , boar	<i>Bhaloo</i> , bear.
<i>Bâr</i> , hedge	<i>Bar,h</i> , fence.
<i>Bârr</i> , stone	{ <i>Put,hur</i> , stone. <i>Bujur</i> , stone.
<i>Bara</i> , great.....	<i>Bura</i> , great.
<i>Bavel</i> , wind	<i>Ba,o</i> , wind.
<i>Bel</i> , hair	<i>Bal</i> , hair.
<i>Bing</i> , devil	<i>Bhuo</i> , Jupiter.†
<i>Ber-inguree</i> , ship	<i>Bera</i> , float, vessel.
<i>Biknus</i> , to sell, bargain...	<i>Bik-na</i> , to be sold.
<i>Bikcheroo</i> , blockhead.....	<i>Beechroo</i> , calf.
<i>Bobee</i> , pease, &c.	<i>Muterr</i> , pease.
<i>Bokroo</i> , goat	<i>Bukra</i> , goat.
<i>Bosh</i>	{ fiddle. <i>Ohob</i> , (F.) wood.
<i>Bosh-umunguree</i> }	
<i>Boshter</i> , saddle	<i>Bocha</i> , chair.
<i>Bud-jut</i> , tinker	<i>Bud-jat</i> , bad cast.
<i>Chatee</i> ,§dish	{ <i>Jharee</i> , jug. <i>Chat-na</i> , to lick.
<i>Chavee</i> , child	<i>Bucha</i> , (F.) child.
<i>Ohin</i> , to cut.....	{ <i>Chheen-na</i> , to snatch. <i>Oh'hin kurna</i> , to clip.
<i>Ohiv</i> , pointed instrument.	<i>Jeebh</i> , tongue.
<i>Ohof</i> ...	{ <i>Cham</i> , leather. <i>Kufsh</i> , (F.) shoe.
<i>Ohofoo</i> }	
<i>Ohof</i> }	

† Persian or Arabic.

‡ Mr. Irvine's absence from England renders it impossible to ascertain his reasons for this version, which seems to be objectionable.

§ *Chatee*, a water-vessel, H. (Note by the Secretary.)

GIPSY.

HINDOOSTANEE.

*Chong, ancle	{ Pong, ancle.	* 57
	{ Shitalung, (F.) ancle.	
Chooree, knife.....	Ch,hooree, knife.	
Chor, thief	Chor, thief.	
Chukroo, a bird	{ Chiree, a bird.	
	{ Puk,heroo, bird.	
Dad, father.....	Dada, † grandfather.	
Deenuloo, mad	Deev'annu, (F.) mad.	
Diklus, to show	Dik,hla-na, to show.	
Dives, day	Dewus, day.	
Domoo, † back	Muddoo, back.	
Dood, milk	Dood,h, milk.	
Droom, way, distance ...	Door, (F.) distance.	
Dy, mother.....	{ Dae, nurse.	
	{ Mae, mother.	
Gad, shirt	Good, rag.	
Gav, place, &c.	Ga,on, place, village.	
Goja }		
Gojee } man, person.....	Jogee §, wanderer, pilgrim.	
Gojoo }		
Goodloo, honey, sugar ...	Goo ^{oo} rh, sugar.	
Grasunee, mare	Ghoree, mare.	
Gry, horse	Ghora, horse.	
Ha, to eat	Kha-na, to eat.	
Hindee, ear.....	Kan, ear.	
Hiree, foot	Eree, heel.	
Hochubin, to heat	Jula-na, to heat, burn.	
Hohubin, lie	Bohtan, (F.) calumny.	
*Ia, to go	Ja-na, to go.	* 58
Jookil, dog	Srikal, jackal.	
Ka', (sign of genitive) ...	Ka', (sign of genitive).	
Kalee, black	Kala, black.	

† Dada also signifies father in Mahratta. (Note by the Secretary.)

‡ Doom, a tail, H. (Note by the Secretary.)

§ Gogo, a boy, Guzerattee. (Note by the Secretary.)

GIPSY.	HINDOOSTANEE.
<i>Kandee</i> } ill-smelling,	{ <i>Kando</i> , filth.
<i>Kanduloo</i> } spoilt	{ <i>Gundu</i> , (F.) spoilt.
<i>Karoo</i> , business	<i>Karuj</i> , business.
<i>Kas</i> , grass	<i>Ghas</i> , grass.
<i>Kavee</i> , and } dish, vessel.	{ <i>Qab</i> , (U.) dish, vessel.
<i>Tikeree</i> }	{ <i>Rikabee</i> , (F.) dish, vessel.
<i>Kavudo</i> , have a care! ...	<i>Khuburdar</i> , (F.) have a care!
<i>Kel</i> , cheese, &c.	<i>Chela</i> , cake.
<i>Ker</i> } house	<i>Ghur</i> , house.
<i>Koree</i> }	<i>Khana</i> , meal.
<i>Kona</i> , meal.....	
<i>Koolee</i> , flogging	{ <i>Kor-na</i> , to flog.
<i>Kooliskee</i> , flogging	
<i>Koor</i> , to flog	
<i>Koor umunguree</i> , soldier	
<i>Kooshka</i> , good	<i>Khoosh</i> , (F.) good.
<i>Kopee</i> , blanket, clothes...	{ <i>Kumlee</i> , blanket.
	{ <i>Kupra</i> , clothes.
<i>Kosht</i> , wood	<i>Kash,th</i> , (S.) wood.
<i>Kula</i> , dice, game	{ <i>Kula</i> , art, trick.
	{ <i>Khel</i> , game.
<i>Kunya</i> , fowl	<i>Moorgh</i> , (F.) fowl.
<i>Kurack</i> , to hide	<i>Kurak-na</i> , to trepitate (occasionally).
<i>Lom</i> , chalk; clay.....	<i>Mutta</i> , clay.
<i>Lovoo</i> , money	<i>Pysa</i> , money.
<i>Loon</i> , salt	<i>Lon</i> , salt.
59 <i>Loovunee</i> , wench	<i>Loolee</i> ,† dancing-girl (F.).
<i>Lulus</i> , to take.....	<i>Le-lena</i> , to take.
<i>Ma!</i> don't!	<i>Mut!</i> don't!
<i>Machee</i> , fish.....	<i>Muchhee</i> , fish.
<i>Machuku</i> , ‡ cat	<i>Mashooqu</i> , (U.) beloved.
<i>Mar</i> , to beat	<i>Mar-na</i> , to beat.
<i>Mara</i> , white.....	<i>Gora</i> , white.

† *Loundee*, a slave-girl, H. (Note by the Secretary.)‡ *Majur*, a cat, in Mahratta. (Note by the Secretary.)

GIPSY.

HINDOOSTANEE.

<i>Maroo</i> , bread	<i>Pera</i> , dough.
<i>Mas</i> , flesh	<i>Mas</i> , flesh.
<i>Matee</i> , drunk	<i>Mata</i> , drunk.
<i>Mav</i> , mark on one's own.	{ <i>Na, ñn</i> , name. <i>Nam</i> , (F.) name.
<i>Moo,ee</i> , mouth, visage ...	<i>Mō-ñh</i> , mouth, visage.
<i>Mooloo</i> , dead	<i>Moo,a,†</i> dead.
<i>Mutees</i> , greens	<i>Mishtā</i> , a kind of greens.
<i>Myla</i> , ass.....	<i>Byl</i> , bullock.
<i>Nashudoo</i> , to hang.....	{ <i>Nash-dena</i> , to annihilate. <i>Phañsee dina</i> , to choke.
<i>Nav</i> , news	{ <i>Nya</i> , new. <i>Nuo</i> , (F.) new.
<i>Nok</i> , nose.....	<i>Nak</i> , nose.
<i>Pabo</i> , apple	<i>Seo</i> , apple (F.).
<i>Padoo</i> , full	<i>Poorā</i> , full.
<i>Pagur</i> , to break	{ <i>Phar-na</i> , to break. <i>Pukur-na</i> , to seize.
<i>Paloo</i> , cup	<i>Pee,ala</i> , (F.) cup.
<i>Paloo</i> , lock	<i>Tala</i> , lock.
<i>Panee</i> , water	<i>Panee</i> , water.
* <i>Paroo</i> , old	<i>Poorana</i> , old.
<i>Peree</i> , foot, heel	{ <i>Fyr</i> , foot. <i>Ēree</i> , heel.
<i>Pitaree</i> , basket	<i>Pitara</i> , basket.
<i>Poluvree</i> , milt.....	<i>Tīlee</i> , milt.
<i>Poor</i> , ground	{ ... <i>Bhoom</i> , ground.
<i>Poo-inguree</i> , potato }	
<i>Portsee</i> , pocket	<i>T'hylee</i> , pocket.
<i>Poshmookus</i> , handker- chief ; <i>quasi</i>	{ <i>Poñch mookt</i> , i.e. wipe-face. <i>Pra-sītee</i> , (<i>juldee</i> , &c.) from <i>pura-na</i> , to flee.
<i>Frastee</i> , run ! haste ! <i>quasi</i>	{ <i>Pet</i> , belly. <i>Peroo</i> , abdomen.
<i>Pur</i> , belly	

*60

† *Mela*, dead, in Mahratta. (Note by the Secretary.)

GIPSY.

HINDOOSTANEE.

<i>Py, a</i> , play	<i>Khel</i> , play.
<i>Ranee</i> , lady.....	<i>Ranee</i> , lady.
<i>Roklee</i> ,† girl	<i>Lurkee</i> , girl.
<i>Rāt</i> , blood	<i>Rukut</i> , blood.
<i>Ratee</i> , night	<i>Rat</i> , night.
<i>Roker</i> , to talk.....	{ <i>Rok-na</i> , to detain. <i>Buk-na</i> , to talk.
<i>Rov</i> , to weep	<i>Ro-na</i> , to weep.
<i>Ry</i> , gentleman	<i>Rae</i> , gentleman.
<i>Shiloo</i> , thing	<i>Suloo</i> , thing.
<i>Shiroo</i> , head	<i>Shiruh</i> , (S.) head.
<i>Shurshoo</i> , hare	<i>Khurha</i> , hare.
<i>Stadee</i> , hat.....	<i>Ṭopee</i> , hat.
<i>Starubun</i> , prison; quasi	<i>Oastuwar-bund</i> , fast confinement.
<i>Toola</i> , marrow	<i>Tilee</i> , milt.
61 <i>Tresh</i> , to frighten	<i>Turs</i> , (F.) fear.
<i>Vast</i> } hand, fist	{ <i>Mōōsht</i> , (F.) fist.
<i>Vastee</i> }	{ <i>Dust</i> , (F.) hand.
<i>Voshtee</i> , chicken	<i>Bucher</i> , (F.) young.
<i>Wooder</i> , door	<i>Oad</i> , (U.) wood.
<i>Wunishkee</i> , finger	{ <i>Ungoosht</i> , (F.) finger. <i>Bilisht</i> , (F.) span.
<i>Yag</i> , fire	} <i>Ag</i> , fire.
<i>Yag-enguree</i> , fire-arms }	
<i>Yak</i> , eye.....	<i>Ankh</i> , eye.
<i>Yaro</i> , egg	<i>Unōlḡ</i> , egg.
<i>Yoroo</i> , watch	<i>Ghuree</i> , watch.

It remains to notice a few phrases and particulars which could not find place above. The Gipsies call themselves in cant English travellers, and in their peculiar dialect *Roomdichil* (*Rum-ne-chul-ne-wale*, wanderers). Their dialect they call *Roomus*; and when they mean to ask a stranger whether or no he be of their tribe, they say, Can you *roku Roomus* and play upon the *bosh*? that is to say, Can you speak Gipsy and play

† *Rakklee*, Mahratta, a kept girl. (Note by the Secretary.)

upon the fiddle? Their king is, strictly speaking, elective, though usually chosen from out of one opulent family. He receives presents at stated times from his subjects, and has been known to impose and exact a tax upon watches. His royal style is the *Ry, bara Ry, or Ry* of the *Roomdichil*. *Pel* and *nookipel* are terms of respect and endearment addressed to men; *dy* and *nookidy* similar ones used towards the other sex. Young people are addressed *Bad inderræ*, Dear child. *Bâ*, with the broad Hindoostanee *a*, is usually used with *mâ*: thus, *Mâ bâ*! Pray don't, sir! *Aonky* may be translated, Come hither! and descends, it is probable, from *a-na*, to come. *Liskee do* (contracted, it may be, in the vehemence and hurry of utterance, from *Kooliskeedo*! *Korebazeedo*!) is an expression used by the bystanders to animate a person fighting. *Mong poolu* *Mong*! (*mang-na*, to beg) is a form of supplication and begging. **Bengdi waladoki pur* (literally, Devil take your belly) is a common curse. It is curious to observe * 62 how their phraseology is affected by their manner of life and mode of thinking. Among this strolling, dishonest, and disorderly tribe *kas* signifies a bed, as well as straw or grass; *lovoo* denotes money, and also *quicksilum*, used to disguise false coin; and the civil magistrate or judge is called by the same name as the devil, and no doubt is regarded with the same dread and abhorrence. They seem to have two words resembling expletives: *Jinis* is added to nouns: thus *lovoo jinis*, money; *jookil jinis*, dog: *jins* (U.) in Hindoostanee is genus. *Dry-a* is prefixed to verbs as an expletive, but before nouns has a special force: thus *nok*, nose; *dry-a nok*, to take snuff.

The preceding materials are but scanty; but they are, I think, correct and fairly exhibited. It is the less necessary to accumulate illustration and commentary. It were possible to write a dissertation on the claims of each word to be reckoned of Hindoostanee descent; but it suffices to point out such rules of judgment as seem of general and obvious application.

When both sense and sound agree of the words confronted, the case is a plain one. When the sense varies, we are to consider whether the variation be greater than we might have

expected in the hypothetical circumstances. The vulgar are not precise in the classification of objects or use of terms at any time; and a change of outward circumstances naturally turns language awry, through the tendency men have to associate new objects in their mind with old, and name the former by terms already familiar. When the sound varies, there are certain rules of indisputable authority under which a certain variation may appear not incompatible with a common origin. Certain elements of sound, as being allied in their enunciation by the organs of speech, are naturally interchangeable. This natural system is followed more or less in every tongue, unless we except the Urubee, but seems most perfect in the Greek. The Greek grammarians lay down various of its rules very clearly; but I know not that any author has given us a fuller or more just view of sounds, subdivided into their natural * 63 classes, than Dr. Gilchrist. The same *writer delivers the system of convertibility peculiar to the Hindoostanee: for it is to be observed in the second place that in most tongues there is superinduced on the natural a national commutability, resulting from the peculiar habits of speaking in the people. An untaught ear, however well qualified to judge of the first, through the sympathy existing between the organs of hearing and those of speech, cannot judge of arbitrary or national convertibility; and hence strangers are frequently surprised to find words to them apparently quite dissimilar received on the same acceptation in the dialects of a language, or the varieties of a dialect. The present case admits of the application of a third rule. When any people corrupt a strange language, they are not found to corrupt it altogether capriciously, but are guided, though unconsciously, by a certain rule and system. The English Gipsies, if they speak Hindoostanee at all, will speak it with an English accent, and naturally disfigure it after the same manner that English residents in Hindoostan disfigure the language of the country.

Let us apply the foregoing rules. The natural convertibility of *s* and *sh* shows *suloo* and *shiloo* to be as it were the same. The Hindoostanee scholar acknowledges no difference between

lon and *loon*, and will recognize *burkee* in *racklee*, *bucher* in *vosh-ter* and *chavee* ; *muddoo* in *domoo*, being familiar with such resolutions and transpositions in the Hindoostanee, of which the Gipsy by the hypothesis is a species. He who has adverted to the principles which run through the corruption of Hindoostanee terms by the English will discern at once how *nak* shall become *nuk*, and *ch,hooree*, *chooree* ; how semi-nasals shall be omitted, vowel terminations dropt, the aspirated series of mutes changed into the simple gutturals, and harsh dentals into their softer correlatives.

Of the contrasted words there are some so dissimilar in sense or sound that the rules just hinted at cannot approximate them ; and I profess not to discern the steps of their pedigree. Between others the resemblance is faint in various degrees ; but in a majority of cases in the above list, which is not select but indiscriminate, the resemblance appears so strong as not to be accounted for by gratuitously supposing a spontaneous coincidence, *and seems, in alliance with former evidence, to warrant us in deciding that the languages themselves of *64 which they form part have not that similitude merely which is discernible in the languages of all nations, but such a special similitude as implies the one to be a variety or dialect merely of the other.

This conclusion is rendered the more probable by one curious fact which by accident came to my knowledge. Long before the roots of a language are lost, its construction and idiom, with all particles used for connexion and government, are usually forgotten :—as the English Gipsies borrow from the English a great number of the former, much more should we expect them to avail themselves of the latter in use amongst the English. There seem two exceptions. In *mar di gojoo* and *koordi gojoo*, signifying a battle amongst men, may be detected the prepositive genitive particle used with variations over great part of the continent of Europe. The second exception is more curious. The following are clear examples of postpositive arrangement : *Gojoo*, man ; *vastee*, fist ; *gojoo-ka vastee*, *admee-ka mōōsht*, a man's fist ; *kalee*, black, also ink ; *paloo*, cup ; *kalee-ka paloo*,

se, ahee dan, an ink-holder. This arrangement seems once to have been more common than now, traces of it being visible in the Greek (see II. ii. 63 *seq.*), Latin (see *Æn.* ii. 553), English, Russian, and I believe German languages. But in none (as far as I know) is it at this day the sole and customary mode except in the Hindoostanee and its cognate dialects. The bare occurrence of the idiom in the Gipsy might encourage a suspicion of its being one of the latter, which is greatly strengthened by observing that the particle here instanced is used in the same position and with the same force in Hindoostanee at this day.†

There is reason to think that this succession of wanderers has been continued, in England at least, as much by the various modes of adoption as by procreation; but we have not the less reason to suppose that the characteristic phraseology of the tribe has descended to their present representatives from the original Gipsies, who will have brought it from *a country in which it, or a similar one, was vernacular.

The reasoning appears not abrupt or forced, and yet various authors seem to reckon it a mere fallacy, and solemn trifling. It can surely be shown *à priori* that two or more languages may flow from one source, and that their common origin shall be visible in, and demonstrable from, the similitude of their roots and structure. He, then, who objects to the application of comparative philology in historical disquisitions must object to the last step in the reasoning: he must conceive language radiating spontaneously from a centre, like light or heat, and maintain that different nations may speak a similar speech without communication. If that intercommunication only is denied to be necessary which implies sameness of blood, it must be granted that the transmission of languages from a common centre is more conclusive of a common residence than of a common blood in the original tribes, and throws more light on the emigration than the filiation of mankind. Yet even in the mazes of the latter subject the roots of language seem always the principal, and often the sole clue to guide our steps.

† It appears from a former list that the Gipsies still retain the position *ka* in expressions.

If, then, the original Gipsies spoke Hindoostanee, they probably emigrated from Hindoostan. A difficulty seems here to occur. They are represented as having emigrated in early ages, before the Mōssulmans had made their inroads, before, at least, the mingled Hindoostanee, compounded of the language of the conquerors and that of the conquered had been assimilated. If it were intended to be maintained that this tribe speaks Hindoostanee in all its parts and appropriate rules, the dilemma were fatal which is here presented; but, as little more is meant than that the Gipsy jargon is Hindoostanee in its root, the difficulty may be avoided. By discarding a few Farsee and Urubec words, we have a very disproportionate remainder of old Hinduwee roots; and by adopting that term instead of Hindoostanee we may still maintain that the Gipsies drew their language from Hindoostan. But, as expressive of its actual structure on the transition of the race to Europe, the term I use is more appropriate: in like manner, as the stationary inhabitants of Hindoostan, in a course of time after the conquest, mingled their various tongues *into one, this tribe in its travels seems to have formed a composite *66 tongue out of the same ingredients. They originally spoke Hinduwee. They will have picked up some Farsee during their stay near the Indies, or during their progress through the middle of Asia. Whether they followed this route (which seems in itself the more probable one) or that by the Red Sea, they will have traversed or skirted the countries in which the Urubec is spoken. Nor is this a method of forming a language without a precedent. It is thus the seafaring men on the Mediterranean have compounded a motley gibberish of conversation from out of the languages spoken in its various parts.

The present subject is minute; but it may not be altogether frivolous, or its elucidation devoid of use. It is well to sift the truth even in the smallest matters. The fact, if proved, is curious and striking, and adds one more to the number of singular incidents in the history of mankind. The view of a tongue gradually obliterating may throw light on the opposite process of the formation of language. Moreover, a means is

thus presented of illustrating the etymology of the English and other modern tongues of Europe. Various words whose etymons in the ancient tongues of Europe are difficult to discover may be traced, perhaps directly, to those of Asia. Dr. Gilchrist has already pointed out several striking enough coincidences, and others might be added. The supposed emigration of the Gipsies discovers a channel of communication which otherwise it were not easy to find, at least in the case of the Hinduwee terms. The character of the words themselves seems to accord with the originals assigned them. They are usually cant, droll, or vulgar, as adopted from a despised tribe. As the Gipsies were of old famed for tricks of sleight of hand in our island, we might expect to discover an Hinduwee tinge in the cant of that art, and some specimens of it seem to favour the idea; but this subject I relinquish to such as are more versed in the vocabularies of Hindoostan and of hocus-pocus.

[NOTE.—The Rev. Dr. John Wilson, in his *Lands of the Bible*, says (vol. II., p. 306):—"The Indian scholar will at once admit that the gypsies must have originally come from the banks of the Indus." Dr. Wilson says:—"Near Majdel we observed a number of huts made of dried reeds, unlike any which we had seen elsewhere in the country. We dismounted at them, and entered into conversation with some of their inmates, or rather owners, for they were working in the plots of ground contiguous to them. We found that they were gypsies; and on my addressing them in one or two of the dialects of the north-west of India they declared to me, through the same media, that I was one of their brethren. When I answered them in the negative, they cast their eyes on Dhanjibhai, and said, 'Then he is a Nawar.'" [This is our friend the Rev. Dhanjibhai Naoroji, who was Dr. Wilson's companion.] I would also refer the curious reader to the following works of George Borrow:—(1) *The Gypsies in Spain*; their Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language; (2) *The Bible in Spain*; (3) *Lavengro: the Scholar, the Gypsy, and the Priest*; (4) *The Romany Rye: a sequel to 'Lavengro'*; (5) *Wild Wales, its People, Language, and Scenery*; and lastly (6) his *Romano Lavo-Lil: Word-Book of the Romany or English Gypsy Language*, published in 1874. See also *Tent-Life in Norway with English Gypsies*, by Hubert Smith, 1873; *A History of the Gypsies, with Specimens of the Gypsy Language*, by W. Simson, London, 1865; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XI. [eighth ed.]; *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. XI.; and *Balfour's Cyclopædia of India*, vol. II., Title 'Gypsy.'—Ed.]

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PERSIAN,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE OPINIONS OF THE SUNNI AND SHIAH SECTS OF
MAHOMEDANS.

By Brigadier-General Sir JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B.

Read 9th December 1811.

*Letter from the Ulemahs of Maverulnahr or Transoxiana,
to the Ulemahs of the City of Mushed, in Khorassan.*

It cannot be concealed from any one of the true faith that it is impious to attack the person or property of a Mussulman who believes in God, acknowledges the Prophet, and whose speeches and actions are conformable to the sacred law, and who follows the example and precepts of the twelve holy Imams. But when (continuing to profess such a creed) men wholly depart from the faith of the Sunnis and deviate from the path of the learned and holy men, and, no longer adhering to the original tenets of their faith, presume to publish the heterodox doctrines of the Shiahs, and to abuse the cause, the two holy fathers-in-law and the son-in-law and wives of the sacred Prophet, and think such blasphemy praiseworthy, it undoubtedly becomes the indispensable duty of the prince of the faithful, and of all true believers in the world, who desire to fulfil the mandates of the Most High God, and to fix and strengthen the true religion, to kill and extirpate all such, to rare their houses, and seize their property, whether in goods or land; and if the kings of the earth, in whose hands are power and dominion, and the caliphs (under whose shadow may God order that the faithful find shelter until the great day of judgment!) neglect to combat in this sacred cause, which it has been declared their duty to do by the unanimous voice of the *Ulemah*, or holy men, who * speak what the Prophet and his descendants *68 have ordained, they shall answer for it to their Creator.

Every sensible man who acts under the direction of reason,

and who considers histories, traditions, and holy sayings with attention, must admit that those who were exalted by the friendship of the sacred Prophet, who acknowledged his authority and served him, and who for years fought by his side against infidels to propagate the true faith, stand exempt from impiety and impurity, and will inherit Paradise ; but above all others those will obtain that beatitudo who are included in the following verse of the divine Koran, " God is well satisfied with the faithful that acknowledged my authority,"—" The great God was their guide, and they followed him." Can there be a doubt but the three caliphs, Omar, Othman, and Aboubeker, are included in this verse ? Are they not also bound in ties of the closest affinity with the Prophet ? and has not God in his holy book termed Aboubeker the companion of the Prophet : " And he said unto his companion (Aboubeker), God is with us, be not thou alarmed." It is established by another sentence of the Koran, that the Prophet delivers nothing of himself, but speaks as he is inspired by the Almighty ; therefore all his words and sayings must be considered as inspirations. And we know from the Koran that he honoured the three caliphs much, and praised them often ; and the sentences in their praise are transmitted unto us in that holy book. It follows, from what has been stated, that to deny their perfection is to wander wildly in the maze of error, and in fact to deny the Koran and the Prophets ; and those only that believe and follow them are the true followers and believers in the faith : for God commanded our Prophet to say to the world, " You that are the friends of God, obey me ; and God will be a friend unto you and pardon your sins." Who but infidels can doubt, after reading such a sentence, that the Almighty looked with favour on our caliphs ?

The undaunted valour of Aly the lord of the faithful is known to the whole world ; and yet that prince acknowledged the authority of the caliphs. Ignorant men do not reflect that if they succeed in fixing obloquy on any caliphs, they must also

* 69 fix it on Aly. How can the Shiahs defend their * conduct in loading with abuse Aisha, when all are agreed that

she was the wife of the Prophet, and was the favourite of that sacred personage? And it is written in the Koran, "That bad women only are attached to bad men, and bad men to bad women: Good women are attached to good men, and good men to good women." Reflect on this verse, and consider to what an extreme an abuse of Aisha leads. But, leaving this ground, is there a vagabond that walks the streets that will hear, without being enraged, his wife abused? How dare the Shiahhs then be so indecent and impious as to abuse the partner of the best of men? "May God preserve us from such proceedings! Take warning, O you who have wisdom!"

Many may say, We neither have committed these actions, nor ever will commit them; but they should know that to listen to such folly and wickedness, without forbidding it, will expose them to be considered as equally guilty with those that commit it.

You have written unto us that it is stated in Holy Writ, "Do not without cause plunder each other's property:" and that it is a sacred precept that it is unlawful to take the property of any Mussulman whatever unless for his advantage: and you argue from this that the produce and revenue of the city of Mushed cannot be deemed lawful plunder.

We have to reply that these holy sentences and traditions only relate to true believers: and as we have correct and authentic proofs that the sect of Shiahhs abuse the holy caliphs (at the same time that they call themselves Mahomedans), we conceive not only the sentences you have quoted, but many others which it is unnecessary to state, have this plain and obvious meaning;—that to put to death, to seize and ravage the property and country of unbelievers, is lawful. No person indeed can deny this; and assuredly those who declare themselves servants of the prince of the faith, but swerve from their truth, must above all others be deemed, by the concurrence of the learned, proper and legitimate objects of plunder: Can they be saved by a hollow profession of faith? This argument is supported by the battles which Aly himself fought with Mussulmans during his caliphate. Our late glorious emperor also

fought many actions with those who called themselves of that religion.

* You write that the fields and gardens of Mushed are
 * 70 the unalienable property of the holy shrine of the imam

Reza, to which sacred purpose they were consecrated by the ancestors of the monarch of Persia. In answer we can only say, This country is one of those (which it is lawful to plunder), and the army of the faithful cannot distinguish the sacred from the private lands:—all must therefore be considered in one light. But, supposing the distinction made, the revenues of their holy property must still be expended by holy Mussulmans; and if it cannot from circumstances be expended in that manner, it becomes the duty of the prince of the faithful to divide it in lawful shares among his warriors.

You say that the majority of your city are the lineal descendants of the Prophet. Let us imagine this true; remember you not what God said, “Those belong not unto me whose conduct is not virtuous.”† But you add that all the inhabitants of Mushed are virtuous: you do not recollect that virtue is but the form of that of which religion is the substance. In reply to what you have written us respecting the natives of your city having been admitted into the society and friendship of the learned men of Mecca, Medina, and Damascus, we have only to say, “Whoever has not good in his heart can reap no profit from beholding the countenance of the Prophet.” And as to what you state regarding the learned men of these cities having praised them, we cannot believe it: but supposing it true, it must have proceeded from ignorance of their bad principles.

As to what you state respecting the month of Rejeb being an unlawful season, and that to make war in that month with those who are desirous of peace is impious, we have to answer that the respect originally paid to that month is, by the clearest writing, done away; and in support of this argument we need only mention that many of the battles of Aly with his enemies were fought in the month of Rejeb.

† God's answer to Noah.

You say, on the authority of Holy Writ, that God created men and angels only to obey and adore Him. This cannot be controverted; but the obedience and adoration which is acknowledged to be most pleasing to God is to war with infidels, and no mercy should be shown those who forsake *their adoration to their Creator, who abuse the heads of the faith, and in the * 71 pride of false knowledge consider such conduct to be praiseworthy and virtuous. But though all are agreed that God had cursed Satan, there would appear no good to be reaped from execrating him: and what renders the present case more extraordinary is that there are numbers of Shiahs who really understand the meaning of the holy sentences, and have successfully expounded many of the sacred writings, yet even those continue openly to proclaim themselves schismatics, and neither depart from the false doctrines of their sect, nor persuade others to do so, but remain inattentive to the tenets of the twelve holy imams. Such we must remind of the verse in the Koran which states " That the time approaches when an answer will be required from those who have knowledge."

Should any of the wanderers from the path of the truth, who to support their own arguments have slandered the imams, be able to support their conduct by reference to sacred writings, or to contradict any assertion that has been made in this letter, let the inhabitants of Mushed send out their chief magistrate Abdullah, who shall be protected from insult, and admitted to converse and argue with some of the learned servants of his majesty. It will then be probable that the true faith shall become apparent unto all. Health unto those who are in the right path.

An Answer to the Ulemahs of Maher-ul-Naher, by Moullah Mahomed Rustamdaree of Mushed.

The contents of the letter of the Moullahs of Maher-ul-Naher are fully understood; I shall explain that which I believe to be right. It is not concealed from you that the Prophet has ordered all (both Sunnis and Shiahs) to respect his holy book and family. The imaum Reza came as a stranger into this land:

I, who am his servant, have neither any concern with the Persians or Usbegs; I am neither the friend of the one nor the foe of the other: my sole business is truth; to that alone do I pay regard; after that I have searched in the holy Koran and the books of tradition, I shall state to you what has appeared to me; and as I shall do this with attention to moderation and justice I must hope for your assent.

* 72 * By the style of your letter I am reminded of a saying in Khorassan, "He that goes alone to the judge will return satisfied." The learned men of the sect of Shiah have had no access to your sovereign, who has been taught that their faith is a new invention, destitute of truth: when he has heard all the arguments fairly urged on both sides, his royal mind will be enlightened, and we shall be satisfied with his decision. There are many books of traditions regarding which the Sunnis and Shiahs differ; but we desire in this discussion to refer to none as authentic in which both do not profess a belief. The whole of the Mahomedans are divided into two sects, Sunni and Shiah. The essential difference is this: the former believe that Aboubeker had a just right to succeed the Prophet; the latter, on the contrary, deem Murteza Aly the lawful heir, and consider his exclusion an act of impiety and injustice. This difference implies no rejection of the acknowledged traditions to which we mean to refer. Such indeed is not a general principle with either sect, and we object to the protest that any individual may make of this nature. I shall now proceed to notice those grounds upon which you have denounced the Shiahs as infidels. Many reasons are stated to justify this sentence: the first is that the Prophet has praised the three caliphs (Aboubeker, Omar, and Osman), and that the praise of the Prophet is already to be considered as a divine revelation from God, it being written in the Koran, "Think not that Mahomed speaks aught of himself; all he delivers is from the Most High." On this you conclude the praise of the three caliphs to be from God, and that all who deny them honour are in consequence to be classed with infidels. By this very argument you have thrust out these caliphs from every right to their

sovereignty, and completely destroyed all their pretensions; for in the commentary on the Muakiff, by Umdee, who is one of the greatest authorities among the Sunnis, it is written that when the Prophet was dying a violent dispute took place among the Mussalmans that were near him. The origin of this was that the Prophet demanded paper, pen, and ink, saying, I wish to write what will prevent you losing the true path. Omar refused to comply with this request, observing that the acuteness of the disease had produced a delirium. Have we not the Koran? added he; and *what more of his *73 writings can we want? On this the dispute became high, and the noise offended the Prophet, who directed them to leave him, and cease their unseemly quarrels. This tradition is mentioned in the beginning of the *Sakibah Bacheri* and several other respectable Sunni authorities. This was the first act of disobedience: I proceed to the second. After this dispute the Prophet ordered a number of chiefs to go with Assamah on service; many of these disobeyed this order. When this was reported to the Prophet he repeated his mandate, and added a curse on those who should be guilty of disobedience†: but this even did not produce a complete effect. Now I ask, Was the speech made by the Prophet—when he asked for paper, pens, and ink—a divine revelation agreeable to the sense of the verse of the Koran which you have quoted? If so, was not the refusal of Omar a rejection of this revelation? You yourself have pronounced those that reject a revelation as infidels: and all these conclusions are from grounds to which you assent. It is certainly true that God has said, “He who obeys not the person I have sent is an infidel.” Now that I have, upon your own arguments, proved that Omar is an infidel, I think you will allow that an infidel was not worthy of the caliphate; and as this is established, it follows that both Aboubeker and Osman should also be excluded; for in your own creed you believe their right had all the same foundation, and if that is destroyed in the case of one it falls altogether; and the right of none of the

† Though the names of the three caliphs are not stated by the writer, they are implied; as it was well known they were of the number who refused to march.

three (who were connected as one party) can be supported. Agreeably to the creed of the Shiah, none of them are accounted legitimate caliphs; nor is it consistent with the belief of any Mussalman whatever that Omar can be excluded and the rights of the other two admitted. By the argument you have brought forward, disobedience to march with the force of Assamah was the act of an infidel; and on this ground the three caliphs are all infidels together. From both the instances I have stated, the truth of the belief of the Shiah sect is strongly established. This indeed can be proved by more reasons than I have room for

in this letter. You have also stated that the works
 * 74 of the Prophet are as a * revelation, that is, from God.

We also admit this; and it is on this ground that while we deem the expulsion of Merwan from Medina by the Prophet a sacred act, we consider his recall and high employment by Osman as the act of an infidel. We do this for two reasons: the first is the one which you have stated, viz., That to act contrary to the divine word or deed stamps the infidel: the second is on the ground of that verse of the Koran which declares "That neither thou nor they, relations or children, shall hold converse or live in intimacy with him with whom God or his Prophet has been displeased."* We have many other strong reasons to establish what we have stated on this head; but, agreeably to the saying of Khorassan, "A kiss cannot be sent as a message," we must delay these in hopes of a meeting, which we should be glad at, on the condition that our dispute was to be settled by knowledge and truth, not by the dagger, the sword, and the lance. You have said that there is a tradition from which it appears that the Prophet praised the three caliphs. We know or admit of none such; it is not among those traditions which both sects believe in, and by which our disputes ought to be adjudged: and it is from those traditions that we have adduced all we have advanced against the caliphs. It is well known that many traditions have been manufactured for the purposes of dispute; and we can only avoid being misled, by agreeing to admit none but such as both parties allow to be true and authentic:—we have upon these fair grounds re-

futed the charge you made of the Shiah's being infidels. If indeed they were infidels, what Mussulmans would there remain (after what has been shown), who could be entitled to the name of the faithful? The assertion you have made of the Prophet's praising the caliphs is upon an unsupported, and therefore an unadmitted, authority: but for the sake of argument we will admit that they were so praised—what does it prove? These praises were bestowed before they had committed the offences we have stated; the Prophet could not punish them for crimes they had not then committed, whatever prescience he might have of their future conduct. Aly returned his sword to the son of Muljum, observing that he should be slain by him with that very weapon; but justice forbade his preventing that act by a crime, and such he deemed punishment before the perpetration of guilt. It is clear from this that what * 75 you have stated regarding the praise bestowed upon the caliphs would, even if it was established, prove nothing. Your second argument is grounded on that verse of the Koran which says, "O Mahomed, God is certainly pleased with those of the faithful who embraced the true worship, and gave their faith to thee under the tree." And you conclude that as the three caliphs were of this number they must enjoy Paradise; and those (such as the Shiah's) who abuse their propriety be deemed infidels.

In answer to this I state that this verse proves only that the three caliphs had the approbation of God for the act of embracing the religion of Mahomed: but what I urge is that they, subsequently to that period, acted in a manner directly contrary to those principles which then entitled them to praise. In the affair of the succession to the caliphate they were led by ambition and covetousness to set aside the well-known wish of the Prophet; and they were the cause of grief to the holy Fatimah, the care of whom Mahomed had enjoined on all his followers. This fact is written in the *Sahibah Bacheri*. The following is the substance of what this author says:—"After Aboubeker had burnt the gate of Fatimah's house, and seized the garden of Fadick, which belonged to her, she came out of her dwelling and

spoke to them in rage : and from that moment till her death she never spoke to either of them again." This I have myself read in the work I have quoted : and it is also written in it that the Prophet declared, "He who makes Fatimah angry makes me angry." And in the *Nishkat* (another work of authority with the Sunnis) it is written that the Prophet said, "Whoever gives offence to Fatimah gives offence to me ; and whoever offends me offends God." The curse which the holy Imam Jaffer denounced upon those who offended God and the Prophet is a commentary upon this sacred sentence. In two words :—On account of such bad works and the counteracting the last will of the Prophet,—not marching with the force under Assamah,—they merited damnation. That man only can be deemed good who remains so till the close of his life, who maintains that creed which he embraces, and preserves all his obligations inviolate. If he breaks them and departs from

* 76 virtue, he * becomes a just object of abuse, and God will punish him. The following sacred sentence proves this :—“O Mahomed, whoever breaks faith with thee breaks faith with his own soul ; and whoever remains steadfast to the faith and to the existence of God, him will God reward greatly.” The third argument you adduce is that God has declared Aboubeker to be the companion of Mahomed ; and that he who was fit to be the Prophet's companion could never be the object of abuse and curses. I answer, The word companion (*asahab*) has no such exclusive meaning as you apply to it ; it means a person who associates with another, and sitteth with him. Two brothers may be of different belief ; one may be a Mussulman, another an infidel, but still they are brothers. It is exactly so with companions, who with that title may be of different belief and characters. When Mahomed was in the cave, he exclaimed, “O my two companions in this prison, is your trust in many gods ? or do you believe in Him who has no companion in power, and is invincible and omnipotent ?” This very sentence proves completely what I have advanced : for the writers of the *Keshaf* and the *Byzavi* (two Sunni authorities) have, in their commentary on this sentence, stated that the

Prophet by this speech alluded to that made by Joseph to his companions in prison. Now it is known that those whom the prophet Joseph addressed as companions were worshippers of idols. Indeed the remaining part of the sentence confirms this interpretation; and the whole proves that the epithet of "companion of the Prophet," having been thus casually bestowed, is no ground for the argument you have maintained.

You have quoted a stanza implying that "he who has not good in his own heart will derive no benefit from looking upon the countenance of the Prophet." I certainly expected that men who have, or ought to have, read the Koran, and all the commentaries upon that holy volume, could have copied a Persian stanza without a mistake: but you have altered and rendered ungrammatical the words of the poet,—no doubt conceiving that after you had plundered and defaced his native province it was but a trifling additional injury to spoil one of the beautiful lines of the celebrated *Jami*. This may appear a light remark; but it may be useful in *teaching you not to * 77 be precipitate in forming a judgment on what you do not thoroughly comprehend.

Your fourth argument is that the elevation of the three caliphs took place in the presence of the brave Murteza Aly, who did not oppose them; and on this position you rest with great and exulting confidence, as no person you think can deny it without admitting that the holy Aly had not the power to assert his right. My answer is that while Aly was employed in attending to the obsequies of the Prophet they had assembled at the Sukeefah-ben-Saad to elect a caliph, and numbers had declared for Aboubeker from causes on which I shall not enlarge. The lord Aly, from the small numbers of his adherents, his aversion to shed the blood of the faithful, and many other reasons, refrained from war. But this forbearance on his part can never be brought as an argument against this right; because the holy Aly, however brave, was certainly exceeded in valour by his uncle Mahomed, who with Aly and his other friends fled from the infidels of the tribe of Koorish, and after a long period was glad to obtain a truce, but after all

could not make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Now, in spite of these events, few among the Mahomedans think that the Koorish were right, or that the Prophet by remaining quiet admitted that they were so; and if our Prophet, aided by all his companions, was led by any motives to refrain in such a case from war, what reproach can rest on Aly? But men of observation must see that God himself has often forbearance with the wicked: Pharaoh reigned *four hundred years*, and thought himself God. Nimrod, Shidad, and others of the same class have done the same; and yet the Almighty, who, clothed with all his powers, could have destroyed them in a moment, did not do so, but left thousands to fall into error. If, therefore, it appears that God himself has (from inscrutable causes) shown forbearance towards his enemies, what argument can be grounded on the behaviour of Murteza Aly in the instance you have mentioned? I have proved that a person who curses the two shaikhs (Aboubeker and Omar) is not an infidel: and the writer of the *Jameah-ul-ussel* (one of the Sunni authorities) has accounted the Shiahs to be a tribe of Mussulmans, as well as the writer of the *Muakiff*, and has disproved all those arguments * 78 which * have been brought forward to support a contrary doctrine. Imam Mahomed Ghuzali (a celebrated Sunni doctor) does not consider the abusers of Shaikhs as infidels; and Shaikh Asharee (a Sunni doctor) neither deems the Shiahs, nor any persons who turn their faces to the Kiblah, to be infidels:—from all this it must appear obvious that what you have urged against the Shiahs is from yourselves, and is neither supported by the Koran nor the holy traditions. Now we, on the contrary, though aware of the guilt of the caliphs, do not deem it a duty to curse them; nor indeed is it thought reputable to do so: and if any wrong-headed Shiahs affirm it to be a duty, they are mistaken;—place them in the same rank with those senseless Sunnis who deem it a duty to put all Shiahs to death;—neither of these sentiments are inculcated as duties by any authorities of respectability. Your assertion that a person is an infidel who even listens to the abuse of the caliphs is altogether unsupported by any argument; and it has

been observed by the celebrated physician Shaikh Abow Aly Seennat† that the man who gives his assent to any proposition which is unsupported by reason should not be considered as a reasonable creature, as he abandons the exercise of the noblest quality of his nature. With regard to your charge against the Shiah on account of their abusing Aisha, I in the first place deny its truth:—to abuse any Mahomedan is an error, but above all the haram of the Prophet; but as Aisha, in disobedience of a verse of the holy Koran, left that privacy in which women are ordered to remain, and with Moaviah made war upon Aly (a contest with whom was declared by the Prophet to be a contest with himself, and consequently with God), she has no doubt by such acts merited both abuse and curses. You quote in support of this part of your argument a verse from the Koran, which states that good men are connected with good women, and bad men with bad women; and from this you rest the virtue of Aisha upon that of the Prophet, her husband. But you have mistaken the sense of this verse, which does not signify that the woman should partake in all the qualities of the husband: such an interpretation would be fatal to the fame of the prophets Noah and Lot; and Asstah, the virtuous and believing wife of *Pharaoh, would be involved in the *79 guilt of her wicked husband. The fact is that the true sense of this verse is expounded by attention to the meaning of that which precedes it, and of which it is only a part;—which states that a wicked man chooses a wife from the wicked, and a bad woman will only marry a man of depraved principles. This is an answer to what you have urged on this part of the subject.

Your allegation that the Syuds, who are descendants of the Prophet, that hold Shiah principles, are infidels, has astonished me much. It is really extraordinary that you should approve of Aisha in her disobedience to the will of the Prophet and God (in the instances I have stated), and consider her right in marching with a large army to attack the man she had so often heard the Prophet praise, and that at a period when he

† Better known in Europe by the name of Avicenna.

was, agreeably both to your creed and ours, the true, legitimate and reigning lord of the faithful :—that you should approve all this, I say, and condemn the poor Syuds for complaining of usurpation and the loss of the inheritance of their family, is truly wonderful. We only require from you common justice : it is written in one of our works that a blind man called Omah Mektoom was once sitting in the Prophet's presence ; a woman of the haram passed through the room, at which he was very angry. " O prophet," said the woman, " is not the man blind ?" " Yes," said the Prophet, " but thou seest." Yet this is the Prophet of whom Sunni authors have written that he placed Aisha upon his shoulders in order that she might see a show in the public street ; and that he after some time exclaimed, " O my red-cheeked, art thou yet satisfied with the show ?" She replied " No." This story which you relate of the Prophet would not be believed if told of the most depraved of men, and indeed its enormity appears beyond all comment. The only thing I can venture to say is that there can be no doubt the man who believes this story should be considered as having abandoned his religion : at all events we believe (after God) no one to be so good and excellent and perfect as our Prophet, and we justly complain of the audacity of the doctors of Sunni law, who, to serve their own wishes and views, have invented traditions calculated to destroy our holy religion. Verse : " We have * 80 explained to you a few of those griefs which *wring our hearts ; but fear of giving offence has led us to repress much of what we might say upon this subject."

As to what you have written regarding the sanctity of the holy months having been cancelled, you are mistaken ; that can never be till you produce a verse in the Koran which does away the force of that in which they are commanded to be respected. The instance you give of Aly having fought in these months proves nothing, as he was forced to this deviation by his enemy—indeed all his wars were with him acts of necessity ; and if the arguments which I have urged prove that the charge of infidelity advanced against the Shiah is false, there can be no ground for the Fetwah you have given for burning and destroy-

ing our country and city. But let us admit the contrary : what knowledge can you possess of the inward thoughts of those on whom you have denounced such dreadful punishment ? The secrets of the heart are known only unto God. We all know that the passions of kings are as the consuming flame, to which it becomes wise and good men to apply the water of good and moderate counsel in order to repress its fury and to save God's creatures from destruction ; not to add by treacherous advice to this fierce fire till it burneth the whole country and its unfortunate inhabitants. Verse :—" Be not like the fierce flame ; lose not thy reason ; lest the plaint of the wretched should reach the throne of God." The Fetwah which you have so inconsiderately issued is in the hands of the soldier a pretext for every excess and oppression ; and supposing even that those who suffer were infidels, such a proceeding cannot be pleasing to God, as it is written in our books that in the day of judgment Noah will stand ashamed in the presence of the Creator for having desired the death of sinners. I shall not make a comment upon this fine passage :—If the soldiers execute the Fetwah they have received from the Ulemah (religious men), the latter alone must answer at the last day for this great crime.

—Verse :—

" In that day on which men must answer for their works,
The hearts of those who command will tremble with terror ;
In that place where the prophets themselves tremble,
What excuse wilt thou bring for thy guilt ?"

* It is well known that Ibn Zawoos, a celebrated doctor of Shiah law, though eminently qualified, never * 81 (such was his fear of God and doubt of himself) wrote one work upon law, lest he might propagate an error for which he might be made answerable at the day of judgment. Has not God said to the Prophet, " O Mahomed, if thou speakest one word from thyself,"—this is the word of God,—" I will examine the sentence with severity, and never forgive what shall prove false either in thee or others." If God was thus strict as to the Prophet, what have others to expect who dare to use the name of the Almighty in the propagation of that which is

false? You who are among the religious and learned should conduct yourselves as the religious and learned of former days have done; be prudent and cautious, and the end will be more satisfactory; for in the day of judgment it will be difficult to plead an excuse,—above all, in cases when the innocent children, whom God peculiarly protects, suffer from indiscriminate cruelty and injustice.—Verse:—

“I have no view but that which tendeth to your good,

Nothing but that could have given me courage to speak
my sentiments so honestly.”

As most wicked men are directed by worldly motives, it is of consequence that those who are learned and able should be above such an imputation. It would have been more proper, after the long absence of the *Ulemah* (learned men) of Maher-ul-Naher from Mushed, that they should have been our guests, and that we should have derived mutual benefit from an amicable intercourse. Though we could not, from our fear of your monarch, venture from the city, you might from respect to the holy imam Reza have made a pilgrimage to his tomb, and have hold communication with us. But instead of this you have contented yourselves with giving a *Fetwah* for the slaughter of us poor creatures. Well done! May God grant you a great reward, and render your works good!—Verse:—

“Refrain, refrain! for the path of cruelty has no end.

Refrain, refrain! lest you repent when repentance is in
vain.”

* 82

* *Extract from the Huseneah.*†

A merchant at Bagdad (who lived in the time of Haroun-ul-Rasheed) was a great friend and disciple of the imam Jaffer; and when that holy person died, the merchant, on account of what was deemed by the intolerant caliph (who was of the sect of Malik†) his heretical principles, was plundered of all his property, and had literally nothing left but a female slave whom

† The book which is called *Huseneah* was written by Shaikh Abdul Futtouah Razei (i.e. of Rhi), a celebrated Shiah author.

† One of the four sects into which the Sunnis are divided.

he had purchased when she was five years of age. He had sent her to school, and she had for ten years frequented the haram of the imam Jaffer ; and she had given herself to study for twenty years, and had arrived at great perfection both in real knowledge and eloquence of expression. When her master was reduced to poverty (and the unfortunate Shiahhs were forced by oppression to conceal themselves), he began to complain of his hard lot to his slave :—"O Husneah," said he, "you have been to me as a child, I have no other but thee; I have laboured hard that thou shouldst reach that excellence which thou hast attained; grant me thy aid to extricate me from the troubles in which I am now involved." Husneah answered: "O Khajah, I am thy slave, purchased by thy money; I owe thee everything. Wilt thou hear my words on this occasion?" The Khajah said he would. "Go (said she) to Haroun-ul-Rasheed, and tell him thou hast a slave to sell: if he asks the price, tell him one hundred thousand of the *Zer Caliphitte* (denars). If he asks what quality does thy slave possess to raise her value to such an amount, tell him that such are her qualifications that if the caliph assemble all his wise and able men she will overcome them in disputation." The Khajah said he would never consent to this plan: "The tyrant (said he) would be bewitched by the praises I utter of thee, and take thee from me; and I cannot exist without thee, who art the only delight I have left." "Fear not," said Husneah, "for by the blessing of the holy family of the Prophet no power shall separate me while I live from thee: rise up and trust in God, who will order * everything for the best." After great importunities * 83 the Khajah was at length persuaded to go to Yahya-ben-Khaled-Bermukee, the vizier of Haroun; to him he stated his own situation and the qualifications of his slave. The vizier bade him bring her; the distressed Khajah did as he was ordered. When Yahya contemplated her beauty and heard her eloquence and wisdom, he was confounded; he went with the Khajah to the caliph, to whom he explained all he had heard. Husneah was sent for; she came before the caliph veiled, and recited some verses in his praise. He was delighted; he de-

sired her to unveil, and found the face was a just index of her mind. Haroun came out of his haram and sent for the Khajah. "What is the price of your slave?" said he; "and what is her name?" "Her name is Husneah," said the merchant, "and her price is one hundred thousand *Denar-zer-Caliphitti*." Haroun demanded in rage how he could ask such a price? "I demand it," said the man, "because I know that the assembled Moullahs of your dominions will be unable to contend with her in a theological argument." Haroun said, "Will you consent, if your slave should lose the victory, that I should strike your head off your shoulders and take her for nothing?" "What will you do," said the merchant, "if she is not defeated?" "I will not only give you one hundred thousand *denars*, but your slave back again." The Khajah hesitated: "Allow me," said he, "a little time that I may again see Husneah." Haroun consented. The Khajah saw Husneah, who told him not to hesitate but accept the conditions, for she had no doubt by the aid of the holy Aly to gain the victory. The merchant went to Haroun and accepted his offer. Haroun sent for Husneah, and asked her what faith she professed. "I profess the faith of the Prophet and his descendants," said she, "thanks be to God!" Haroun said, "Whom do you consider to be the proper descendant of the Prophet?" Husneah exclaimed, "O Haroun, assemble thy learned men, and then I shall state all I can; and if any objects to my faith, he will speak and I will answer him." Haroun understood from this that she was one of the (*Ahely Beit*) persons of the family, *i.e.* those that were attached to the descendants of the Prophet, or, in modern phrase, Shiah. He immediately called his minister Yahya, and said, "This slave is not of our faith, let her be put to death." * Yahya

* 84 said, "She has undertaken a great task, and one in which she will probably fail: the moment of her discomfiture will be the proper one for her execution: but if she succeeds in confuting the holy and wise men of the empire it would be wrong to put such a person to death; on the contrary, she will merit favour." Haroun was pleased with these observations, and ordered Shaffeah and all the Moullahs to be assem-

bled. Shaffeah was the first of the religious: he had contended with Abou Yuseph-Ruzee of Bagdad and confuted him, and by so doing had established his fame with the caliph. The able men were ordered from Bussorah to the presence; and out of four hundred that were at that place, Ibrahim Nizam was selected as the first in learning and knowledge: a hundred volumes of his writing had been diffused over Syria and Egypt. When Ibrahim Nizam reached the capital, the assembly was ordered to meet, and the principal inhabitants and nobles were ordered to pay their respects to that distinguished man, for whom a golden chair was ordered, and he was honoured with the marked favour of the caliph, who, after all the viziers and learned men were met, ordered Husneah to be called. She first came with some women; but, having received leave, she approached the caliph (covering herself with a veil), wished him health, and without waiting to have her place pointed out, she went and took her seat on a footing with Ibrahim Nizam, who appeared quite magnificent on his golden chair. Haroun made a signal to the lady to commence the disputation, who, immediately comprehending him, turned to Ibrahim Nizam and said, "Thou art the man who hast spread one hundred volumes of thy works among mankind, and who considerest thyself heir to the knowledge of the holy Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!)." Ibrahim Nizam replied in a rage, "Dost thou begin to treat me with ridicule? But what business can I have to argue with a Runeez? indeed it is clear that my doing so will bring ridicule upon my holy profession." "It will be more honourable to your character and that of your profession," said Yahya Bermukee, "to object to the reasoning of Husneah than to her sex: it is a maxim among disputants that words are to be attended to, not persons." After this Husneah said, "O Ibrahim, by the grace of God I shall bring thee to the ground with * disgrace from that golden chair in which thou art now seated." And she began to put questions: but Ibrahim stopped her, and said, "I have come from a distance, and have on that ground the first right of interrogation." "Very well,"

said Husneah, "take the advantage you desire : question me." The Moullah commenced, and received the most eloquent answers to seventy questions that he put to Husneah. It is not necessary to say more upon these, but that Husneah replied to them all in the most prompt and convincing manner ; and Haroun-ul-Rasheed and all his court were full of wonder and admiration of her talents, and almost all present were impressed in her favour. Husneah, observing this, said, "O Ibrahim ! this mode of proceeding is very tedious, I fear the caliph will be weary ; allow me now to ask a few questions." Ibrahim replied, "I have yet three questions to ask ; if you answer them, I shall be quiet." "Ask, then," replied the lady. "Well, Husneah," said the Moullah, "declare who you think should have succeeded the holy Prophet ?" "The person," she replied, "who was oldest in the faith." "Who was the oldest in the faith ?" said the Moullah. "He," replied Husneah, "who was the son-in-law, cousin, and adopted brother of the holy Prophet." The brow of Haroun was clouded with a frown at this answer. This Ibrahim saw, and became bolder : "Tell me," said he to Husneah, "on what ground thou considerest Aly the oldest in the faith. I say that Aboubeker was forty years of age when he embraced the religion of our Prophet, and at that time Aly was a boy ; and the belief or unbelief, the obedience or opposition, of a child is of little consequence." Husneah replied, "If I prove to you that the faith and obedience or want of belief and opposition of a boy has consequence, and that a child, as you term it, is answerable to divine reward or punishment, wilt thou confess the faith of Aly in his boyhood ?" Ibrahim replied, "If thou dost this by sound and convincing argument, I will confess it." "Well," said Husneah, "what say you of the event of the boy that Elias put to death, as stated in the story of that prophet and Moses, which is handed down to us in the holy Koran ? What do you say to the answer which Elias gave to Moses (as written in the sacred volumes) ?—had the boy lived he would have become an infidel, and brought disgrace and infidelity upon * his religious parents. Now tell me, * 86 Ibrahim, was it proper to put this boy to death, or was

Elias unjust? If Elias was unjust, is it not extraordinary that he should be praised by the Almighty, and his praises are written in the Koran?" Ibrahim was at a loss to answer. "I abandon this point," said he. "But what do you say regarding Aly and Abbas (his uncle)? they disputed with each other regarding the right of inheritance to the Prophet; each asserted he had the right, and they carried their complaints to Aboubeker—When two persons go to a judge, one must be right and one wrong." The design of Ibrahim in putting this question was to oblige Husneah either to offend the caliph and hazard her life by declaring Abbas (who was the immediate ancestor of Haroun) in the wrong, or (if the fear of that danger led her to pronounce Aly wrong) to make her give up the whole argument and abandon her creed. Husneah in reply said, "I must, Ibrahim, answer thy question out of the holy Koran." "Let us hear it," said the Moullah. "God," said Husneah, "has stated through the Prophet that the angels Michael and Gabriel carried a dispute before David, in order to expose more strongly the crime of that monarch in taking the wife of his poor subject (Uriah). Now tell me, Ibrahim, which of these two disputing angels was in the wrong, and which in the right?" "Both," said Ibrahim, "were in the right; it was to correct and punish David that they went before that monarch with their dispute." "Thank God for this admission!" said Husneah; "and in like manner both Murteza Aly and Abbas were in the right, and it was to correct the fault of Aboubeker they went before him. Abbas said, The right of inheritance is mine, because I am the uncle of the Prophet. Aly said, It belongs to me as his cousin, son-in-law, adopted brother, and heir, and his daughter is now in my house, and Hassau and Hasséin, who are the lords of the Synds (inheritors of paradise), are my children: I am identified with the Prophet. When Aboubeker (on whom be God's curse!) heard all this, he said, God knows best, but I have heard the Prophet declare Aly is his heir and the lord of my religion.† When Abbas

† Another reading, "payer of my debts."

heard this expression from the mouth of Aboubeker, he
 * 87 was enraged and said, O Aboubeker, if * thou hast heard
 this speech from the holy Prophet, how comes it that thou
 sittest where thou art as caliph, to the injury of Aly's right as
 declared by thyself? When Aboubeker heard this he under-
 stood perfectly that both parties had come to expose his guilt.
 You are come, said he, to quarrel with me, not to appeal to my
 decision as a ruler; and immediately left the assembly." When
 Ibrahim heard this reply from Husneah, he observed that he
 also gave up this point. "But tell me," he added, "which you
 consider the most excellent, Aly or his uncle Abbas?" "Tell
 me," said Husneah, "which you deem most excellent, Humzah
 or his nephew Mahomed? Why do you puzzle yourself so much
 with Aly and Abbas? If Aly was the most excellent, it was the
 glory of Abbas to have such a nephew; and if Abbas was
 superior, it must add to the honour of Aly to have had such an
 uncle." Haroun marked with wonder the ingenuity and ability
 of Husneah; he turned to Ibrahim Nizam, and said, "I pity thy
 knowledge." Husneah then observed that she had answered se-
 venty-three questions; all she now required was permission to
 ask one of the holy Moullah, "and if he can answer it," she add-
 ed, "I will confess myself conquered." "Ask, then, whatever you
 like," said the caliph. "Tell me, Ibrahim," said Husneah, "when
 the Prophet left this earth did he nominate an heir, or did he
 not?" Ibrahim said, "He did not." "Was this omission," said
 she, "an error, or was it right? and was the election of a caliph
 an error, or was it right in those by whom it was made? To
 which do you ascribe the error, Ibrahim—to the Prophet or to
 the caliph?" Ibrahim gave no answer: he could not say the
 Prophet had committed an error, without injury to the faith;
 and if he admitted the caliph had been in the wrong he gave
 up the point in dispute to Husneah: he had also a dread of
 Haroun, and was silent from reflection. His distress for an
 answer was evident to all, and a laugh became general through
 the assembly, and he was reproached for allowing himself to be
 so defeated by a woman. When Haroun saw how matters went,
 he said to his vizier, "O Yahya, I have heard that in ancient

times the wise men of Bagdad and the sons of Hashem and wise men of Hellah had disputations on fate and free-will;—ask Ibrahim what their opinions were on these points.”

Yahya de*manded of Ibrahim if he believed in prede- * 88
tination, or if (like the Ben Hashem) he was the ad-
vocate of free-will. [A disputation follows, in which Husneah,
who argues for free-will, has the victory.]

The Prophet stated his religion would be divided into seventy-three sects, of which one alone would be saved. On being asked which that sect was, “Those,” he said, “that are the friends of my family; my house shall be as the ark of Noah (said Mahomed), and those who are embarked shall be safe amid the general wreck:” this the Shiahs interpret as meaning their sect. This work, which is very highly prized by the Shiahs (as containing a clear exposition of all those points that form the ground of their schism), concludes by ascribing a complete victory to Husneah. The caliph, convinced by her statements, desisted from his persecution of the Syuds. He gave her, agreeably to the terms fixed, a hundred thousand me-seals of gold, and directed her to return to her khajah, on whom he bestowed a dress of honour. He however, whispered to Husneah to leave Bagdad, lest some misfortune should happen to her. The lady and the khajah left the assembly in triumph; and independent of the presents she received from Haroun, others were given by some princes of the blood and other great persons. Ibrahim Nizam came down from his golden chair quite ashamed, and retired with Abou Yuseph Shaffoe and some others of the enemies of the Shiahs. The people laughed at them, and a cousin of Haroun was particularly witty at their expense. Husneah and the khajah, with a number of followers, went to Medinah.†

[Note.—See Mrs. Meer Hassun Ali's Observations on the Mussulmans

† An account of this work is given at the close. The Persian author says that in the year 958 he was returning from Mecca, and at Damascus he got the Arabic manuscript which he has translated from a Syrian Syud. The name of the translator is scratched out, and therefore not known; the book was probably first written in Persian: the translator ascribes the original to Shaikh Aboul Futtonah Razee.

of India, 1832, especially Letters I. to VI.; *Qanun-i-Islam*, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India, composed under the direction of, and translated by, G. A. Herklots, M.D. (second edition: Madras, 1863); *Notes on Mahammadanism*, by the Rev. T. P. Hughes (1865), pp. 168 and the following—the whole work is very suggestive and accurate so far as it goes; the *Dabistan*, or *School of Manners*, translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, 3 vols. (1843), (as regards Shias see vol. I., p. 101; II., pp. 324, 327, 362, 364-6, 368; and Sunnis, II., pp. 322-362); *Calcutta Review*, No. 100, p. 75; *Catalogue of MSS. in the Mulla Firúz Library*, Bombay, by Edward Rehatsek, M.C.E. (1873), chap. VIII., 26, 31, 50, 54, 67, 68, 84; Preface to Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. I., pp. viii.-xxxviii., and p. 425, note, of the same volume; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eighth edition, vol. XV., article *Muhammadanism*, and the authorities therein cited (see especially pp. 302-305; vol. XVII., article *Persia*, see pp. 428, 429; vol. XX., article *Syria*, see pp. 907, 908; Gibbon's *Roman Empire with Notes* by Dean Milman and Guizot, edited by William Smith, LL.D., 1862, in 8 vols.,—vol. VI., pp. 229, 272; *The Life of Muḥammad*, by William Muir, Esq., Bengal C.S. (1858), vol. I., Introduction, pp. 31, 41, 42, 46; Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. I., p. 333, vol. II., p. 73; Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. II. (1829), pp. 236-238; Watson's *History of Persia* (1866), pp. 20-23.—ED.]

A TREATISE ON SUFISM, OR MAHOMEDAN MYSTICISM.

Read 30th December 1811.

Γνωθὶ σεαυτόν.

INTRODUCTION.

By Lieutenant JAMES WILLIAM GRAHAM, Linguist to the 1st Battalion of the 6th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry.†

ALTHOUGH much has been said on the celebrated, though little known, subject of Sufism by Sir William Jones,‡ the President of the Asiatic Society, and by the learned and ever to be lamented Dr. Leyden,§ that universal genius, yet there is an ample field for further discussion on this curious and important head, more especially as the illustrious President has written professedly on their poetry only; and though his discourse explains a number of their tenets, yet it does not fully convey the notions of this peculiar sect, which could not have been done without much digression, nor was primarily intended. Dr. Leyden, again, was similarly situated, by being confined to Bayezid Ansari and his sect, which was evidently Sâfi or a species of Sufism, and the founder will come under the denomination of *Mijëzoob*, or perhaps rather *Mijëzoob Sülik*—terms which will be treated of hereafter.

Through my colloquial intercourse with natives of different classes, I have heard with some degree of pleasure many anecdotes of this wonderful order, though the greater part of them certainly bordering upon*the marvellous. I shall, *90 however, relate a few of them in their proper place, although they may be thought by us, in the apparent natural

† This paper was originally drawn up in a cursory manner at the desire of Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm in 1811, and since corrected and enlarged.

‡ See *Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindoos*—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.

§ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii.

order of things, not consonant to reason or human possibility ; but still, as they are popular narratives, and accepted by the orthodox Mussulmans (*Sunnis*) and also by the Shiah, they may tend materially to throw a light upon this mysterious system, and consequently answer our purpose.

In order to avoid every tautology of circumstance, and create as little confusion as possible, I have endeavoured to arrange the subjects in a regular order, and treat of them accordingly under their several heads, at the same time offering my remarks and explanations where I have conceived requisite.

1. *On the Meaning of the Term SUFIISM or SUFI.*

In the first place the word *sûfi* implies wise, devout, spiritual, &c., derived from *sġfā*, meaning purity, clearness ; hence *sāf*, pure, clear, sincere, candid ; and *sġfi*, pure, clear, bright, just, upright, sincere. Again, by some the word *sûfi* is supposed to be derived from *sûf*, wool, on account of this peculiar order wearing woollen apparel, thereby evincing their contempt of luxury and worldly grandeur, and inuring themselves to a rigid austerity of manners ; and from their exemplary life of wisdom, piety, and devotion the term became transferred to an epithet implying the above.

The meaning of the term *sufism* or *sûfi* in this case may be wisdom, piety, fervour, ardent devotion ; but from the doctrines and tenets subsequently explained it will be admitted that the terms mysticism or quietism will be more applicable, as comprehending the whole system in one word, and being in some degree explanatory of the doctrine.

2. *On the Religion or Doctrine of SUFIISM.*

With regard to the religion (if it can be so termed, in the general acceptance of that word), or rather doctrine and tenets, of the sect of *Sûfis*, it is requisite to observe, first, that any person, or a person of any religion or sect, may be a *Sûfi*. The mystery lies in this :—a total disengagement of the mind from all temporal concerns and worldly pursuits ; an entire
 *91 throw*ing off not only of every superstition, doubt, or the like, but of the practical mode of worship, ceremo-

nies, &c. laid down in every religion, which the Mahomedans term *Shěryât*, being the law, or canonical law; and entertaining solely mental abstraction, and contemplation of the soul and Deity, their affinity, and the correlative situation in which they stand. In fine, it is that spiritual intercourse of the soul with its Maker that disregards and disclaims all ordinances and outward forms, of what sect or religion soever; such as observances of feasts, fasts, stated periods of prayer, particular kinds of meat to be eaten, ablutions, pilgrimages, and such like other rites and ceremonies which come under the head of practical worship (*Jismāni āmul*), being the deeds of the law, in contradistinction to mental or spiritual worship (*Rookhāni āmul*), that is, as I take it to be, grace or faith. Thus, by the words of the apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. iii, ver. 28, "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Such being the case, their sentiments and effusions are expressed in that enraptured and ecstatic style; in some places apparently speaking disrespectfully, or at least disregardingly, of the institutes of their former persuasion, and very appropriately alluding to, 1st, The little fervour used in performing that practical or pharisaical mode of worship, and those ordinances regarding external observances laid down and enjoined as highly requisite, which men most generally execute for the sake and name of acquitting themselves of the duty enjoined, and thus satisfying their consciences by the mere performance of the injunctions and precepts of religion. 2nd, The inefficacy of such performance of worship to material bodies, or holding in veneration material bodies and subjects, which are but transitory like our own bodies;—in fact, it is from our too strong attachment to material substances that all our sin arises: thus, our concupiscence and covetousness after wealth and other people's goods, the satisfying our desires, indulging our senses; and thus also our passions arise from sensible and material objects. The Sūfi divests his mind of all these; he regards not the possession or loss of wealth, if given him by one and taken away by another; his sentiment is that first and beautiful one of Job, "Naked

came I out of my mother's womb, *and naked shall I
 * 92 return thither; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken
 away: blessed be the name of the Lord." The Súfi
 conceives himself and all nature to be an emanation from the
 Deity; the soul to be a portion or ray of his own blessed divine
 essence; animation to be the effect thereof, and matter to
 be produced from the Almighty by his omnipotent *Fiat-koon*
feekoon, "Be, and it is." He may be said, in the words of a
 great poet of ours, "To look through nature up to nature's
 God." He conceives that by intense meditation on the divine
 perfection, and by totally abstracting the mind from every
 other consideration, he may see the Deity mentally, thereby
 have a knowledge of the essence and nature of his own soul;
 know things intuitively, past, present, and future: in fine, be
 possessed of omniscience and omnipotence. This is the won-
 derful system of the *Yogee* or Indian Ascetic, and *Dnani* or
 person possessing divine wisdom or omniscience, from whom the
 Súfis are supposed by some to have borrowed their doctrine.

Man, when he arrives to this ultimate state here below
 (previous to which he has to pass through three others to
 render himself that pure and perfect image of his Maker), then
 enjoys that supreme beatitude, ecstasy, and absorption of
 mind in contemplating the Deity, his own origin and essence;
 the intelligent soul is then supposed to collect together its
 pervasive power and power of ubiquity, to abstract itself from
 every terrestrial object, and to concentrate itself in the
Brehmrundhrer, [†] or pineal gland, where it is absorbed and
 dissolved in supreme bliss; and remains in this voluntary
 trance, which is called in Sounscrüt *Samadhee*. [‡] This union
 of the soul with the Deity, or ineffable beatitude, is also termed
 in Sounscrüt *Moksh*, signifying literally "release" (from
 bondage and the dominion of sin), and in Persian, or rather
 Arabic, *Wāsil*, literally "union" or "meeting."

By a series of practices, and the most rigid austerities and

[† *Brahmarandhra*.—Ed.]

[‡ *Samádhi*.—Ed.]

môrtification, it is believed to be attainable—several learned men of the latter age have believed in this. We know very well that the fathers or saints of the third and fourth centuries, such as St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Anthony, and others, were strongly tinctured with this in all their thoughts *and actions, and to have supposed that the Scripture itself au- * 93 thorizes a belief of the ultimate union of the soul with the Deity (*vide* St. Paul's Epist. to Eph., ch. ii., ver. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; also ch. iv., ver. 6; and again 1 Cor., ch. vi., ver. 17; and Heb., ch. iv., ver. 9, 10); and it evidently says, "God is in all," and that "ye are the temples of the living God." This is the doctrine, too, which the Sûfis hold forth. Nor were the ancient philosophers of Greece, as Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Plotinus, &c., ignorant of this in the very height of idolatry. I will adduce two very remarkable passages in support of this from the latter author and Platonic philosopher: "He passeth from himself as the image to the archetype, being already in possession or enjoyment of the end of his earthly pilgrimage." "Such is the life of gods, and of god-like, happy, highly-favoured men; a deliverance and separation from the low cares of mortality. It is a life which receives not its pleasure and satisfaction from the things of this world; an ascent or flight of the soul, which is one, simple, and uncompounded, to that being who is one and alone, in an eminent and incommunicable sense."

Eusebius speaks in the same language in his evangelic history. This will help in some degree to show how far human nature aided by divine grace is capable of going.

"They who have thus fashioned their manners, God-like beings carried by devout aspirations to the heavenly regions, superintend the lives of all around them; they are set apart and sanctified unto God himself, who is above all, for the sake of the whole human race; by a spirit and disposition purified from every stain by the unerring doctrine of true and unfeigned piety, and by words and works according unto righteousness. By these and such actions they offer up a propitiation to the Deity for themselves and for those of the same common nature, and complete their hallowed ministry in full consummation."

I will conclude for the present upon this head with one more quotation, and that from the Koran :—

“ O thou soul which art at rest, return into thy Lord, well pleased with thy reward, and well pleasing unto God : enter among my servants and enter my paradise.”

* 3. *Elucidation of the foregoing ; or on the different*
 * 94 *States and Stages towards Perfection attainable by Man as approaching Divinity.*

In elucidation of the foregoing, the Mahomedans have some traditions of their prophet, which they entitle *Hulees Nebooi* : thus :—

“ The law (*Shëryât*, canonical one, enjoined) is (like) a vessel ; the true path, direction (*Turcequt*) is (like) the sea ; the perception and truth of things (*Huqeequt*) is (like) the shell ; and the knowledge of the Deity himself (*Mârifut*) is (like) the pearl (therein) ; but he who wishes to obtain the pearl must first go on board the vessel,” (meaning hereby that *that* knowledge is only to be obtained progressively). There is another tradition relative to these four states :—“ The law (*Shëryât*) is my precept (or commandment, as in the Pentateuch), *Turcequt* is my action, *Huqeequt* is my state, and *Mârifut* is my mystery.”

This is to be considered as of the Almighty, although the Mahomedans will wrest the meaning of this also to their leader.

The celebrated Dr. Leyden has given a passage or tradition of a nature similar to the preceding in his admirable treatise on the Rosheniâh sect and its founder, page 411†, where he says that the law is like night, &c. Although the Doctor has so ably and fully described these states, together with four more of Bayezid's system, I will enter into some further explanation of them : I will endeavour to give an etymological definition of the meaning and purport of the words implying each *Mâqâm* or state, and also of four other terms called *Menzil* or stages, being simply in the nature of the above, but assisting considerably in the elucidation thereof.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi.

The first of the terms indicating one of the four states is *Shëryât*, which signifies, as before remarked, the *law*, or that observance of precepts, rites, customs, &c. of religion which the Sûfis say is a very salutary ordinance, as a restraint on the minds of the vulgar. I might add, hence the derivation of "religion," as Servius says, "ut religet mentem (that it may bind again, bind fast the mind)." It hereby prevents a deal of anarchy and confusion; it is requisite to keep men better employed than in entering * into cabals, refined disquisitions, and

* 95 speculative or rather contemplative and abstracted ideas regarding the immensity and connexion of God and the soul; — to teach that to illiterate and vulgar minds would be like throwing pearls before swine; while the same doctrines, if taught to those who were capable of comprehending the sublimity of the doctrine, yet were naturally of a depraved, or at least not of a serious and thinking disposition (of which description the major part of mankind are), would act as the very worst bane, would lead them to all manner of licentiousness and contempt for every sort of religion, and thereby set a bad example to those of a weaker and more easy mind, given up to every species of credulity: it is the canonical law which keeps all ranks in due order and restraint, and which the Mahomedan doctors agree upon as above, and deem so highly essential. The second or next state is *Tureequt*, derived from *Tureeq*, a way, road, direction; it means also a mode, institution, order, religion, &c. This state implies mental or spiritual worship, abstracted totally from the observance of the above, or all forms, rites, ceremonies, or deeds of the law; this is like justification by faith (*vide* St. Paul's Epist. to Rom., ch. iv., ver. 28). This may be termed the first state of Sûfism. After a complete knowledge and due reflection upon the former state and also upon this, after comparing the two systems and comprehending them perfectly, it may then be adopted, if the mind can enter upon it sincerely with ardour and fervour: its object is an inculcation of piety, thanksgiving, praise, and effervescence towards the great and good God solely, and of virtue and morality towards man. Thus, when by tuition and due reflection the mind is properly

nurtured and become matured, it may throw off those things which it was at first taught to revere, and enter into the view of a sublimer system. When man arrives to a knowledge of his own nature, of the affinity he bears to tho' Deity by his soul being an emanation of that essence, and has attained that state and knows how to appreciate that knowledge, he may himself then look upon those outward prescribed forms as nugatory. It may not be unworthy of remark, especially in this place, that we are, generally speaking, at least in this country, looked upon as a species or one kind of *Sûfi*, from our non-observance

here of any rites or *forms, conceiving a worship of
 * 96 the Deity in mind; and adherence to morality, sufficient.

In fine, the present free-thinker or modern philosopher of Europe would be esteemed a sort of *Sûfi* in the world, and not the one retired therefrom. This has occasioned another. *hâdees nebovi*, or tradition of the Prophet, *As Sûfi lu yemâzhîboo*, "The *Sûfi* has no religion."

By a series of worship, praise, and thanksgiving to the Almighty, and meditation thereon, the mind becomes so wound up and abstracted that it is supposed to dive into the nature and perception of things, and truth in its logical acceptation, as Akenside expresses it, or I might say becomes acquainted with the fundamental principles of the laws of nature. This state, which is the third, is called *Huqeequt*, or the state of truth: hence it also signifies reality, or a statement of any circumstance. It is derived from *Huq*, meaning "truth," an epithet of the Almighty; it is the state of inspiration or preternatural knowledge.

The fourth or last and grand state is *Mârîfut*, a term for knowledge, wisdom,—from the Arabic word *ôrîf*, to know. This state is that of union of spirit and soul with God, and is the occasion of another Arabic saying of their prophets, "Unity (union with God) is reality, or the state, truth, and perception of things, where there is neither lord nor servant," both being united and one and the same, the adorer and the adored; of which there are some instances afterwards related in this essay.

Furthermore, as explanatory of these four states, I now come to the *Chehar Menzil*, or four stages, which act in unison and correspond with the above four. 1st, *Nasoot*, humanity or human nature; that is, man in his simple state and stage, according with the first state or *shëryât*, when he acts in obedience and conformity to the rules and ordinances of the canonical law. 2nd, *Melkoot*, empire, magnificence, the contemplative and intelligent world: it is derived from *Mëlik*, an angel. Man is here arrived to that degree of knowledge that enables him to hold communication with the angels: this stage corresponds with *Tureequt*, the second state. 3rd, *Jëbroot*, power, dominion, heaven. This stage in its natural order agrees with *hüqeequt*: it is derived from *jeber*, power. Man here possesses much knowledge and power. 4th, *Lahoot*, divinity, corresponding with *mârîfut*: it * is derived from *lā*, not, and *hoo*, he, that is, "he is not," God is not as a separate * 97 essence or being from the person, and in a particular place (this is called also *la-Mûkan*, "having no abode"), but pervading everything and everywhere. How applicable to this are these words of Lucan, "*Jupiter est quodcumque vides*:" man is not only now supposed to possess an entire and intimate knowledge with the Deity, and to be united, but to have his portion of power and knowledge: yet he is not to proclaim himself God, or as God, as one *Munsoor Halaj* did; nor is he to be considered separate and distinct from God by this distich, "The man of God is not God, but he is not separate from God."†

4. *On the Types and Emblematical Allusions to the four States and Stages.*

I lately met with a curious little treatise in Persian, entitled *Tāni wejood*, signifying "The essence or being of the body," which I just now refer to on account of the illustration it affords of a variety of fanciful resemblances analogous to the four states. I have condensed the subject before us into the annexed table, to avoid prolixity; as in the original it is in the form of question and answer to a *Derveish*, or religious men-

dicant amongst the Mahomedans, generally called in India *Fuqeer*. The analogy of the major part of these emblematical allusions to the four states will be perceived by the mere perusal; and as so much of the system is already explained in the preceding details, and as some further elucidations will subsequently be given, it is hoped the application will prove easy, without the addition of any note or comment.

* 98 * A TABLE of the Four principal States and Stages, with their Types or Emblematical Allusions.

No.	State, Maqâm.	Meaning.	Stage, Munzil.	Meaning.
1.	Sheryât	The law (canonical).	Nasôt	Humanity.
2.	Tureequt	The road of purity.	Melkoot	Intelligent world.
3.	Huqeequt	Reality or truth of things.	Jebroot	Power.
4. *	Mârifut	True knowledge, wisdom.	Lahoot	Divinity.
No. of the State.	The Parts of the Body Types of the four States.	Members of the Body as typical hereof.	The Nature of the Human System as emblematical.	The Creation of Nature as typical of the annexed.
1.	The skin	The nose	The body	Earth.
2.	The flesh	The tongue	The breath	Air.
3.	The bones	The ears	Sense, or understanding	Sky, or Ether.
4.	The marrow	The eyes	The soul	Water.

No.	State, Maqām.	Meaning.	Stage, Manzil.	Meaning.
<i>The State as numbered.</i>	<i>The Prophet of each State.</i>	<i>Those who were born or created in the four States.</i>	<i>The four Kūleemah or Creeds of the four States, as given by the four undermentioned Arch-angels.</i>	<i>The four Places of the four Kaleemah, being the four Menzel or Stages.</i>
1.	Mahomed	Mahomed	Gabriel	Nasoot.
2.	Mohynad deen Noori	The Saints or Oulā.	Michael	Meikoot.
3.	Abraham	The two worlds (terrestrial and celestial)	Israful or Raphael	Jebroot.
4.	Adam	Adam	Azrael or Uriel	Lahoot.
<i>The 4 States as numbered.</i>	<i>The four Archangels typical of the Members of the Body and the four States.</i>	<i>The four Elements typified by the four Arch-angels.</i>	<i>Objects emblematical of the four States as introduced in progressive order; also those of Bayezid Anseri.</i>	<i>The nature of the four States.</i>
1.	Gabriel	Earth	The ship	Precept or word of God.
2.	Michael	Water	The sea	Works of God.
3.	Israful	Air	The shell	State of God.
4.	Azrael	Fire	The pearl	Mystery of God.

5. On the different kinds of Sûfis.

There are three sorts of Sûfis, viz. *Salik*, *Mējżoob*, and *Mējżoob Salik*. The first implies traveller, or one in the right road and path of purity, from *sēlook*, a road, custom, manner, &c. He is mild and shines with a steady *light; he partakes of that nature of God called *jēmāl*, * 99 beauty, grace, mildness, &c., also termed *gūtf*, meaning elegance and purity; he is kind, gracious, and forgiving; bestows benedictions, and seldom or never denounces curses; he lives in the world free and uncontaminated with its vices and impurities: "Unto the pure all things are pure" (*vile* St. Paul's Epist. to Titus, chap. i., ver. 15). To sum up his character I will quote a passage from Plato: "Such a man, taking all these things into his consideration, living in quietness and tranquillity (like one who takes shelter when the storm is raging), occupied wholly in his own concerns, and seeing the world around him filled with all manner of iniquity, is contented to pass the time of his sojourning here in peace, himself free from all unrighteousness and works of unholiness, and with calm confidence expects his dismissal and departure in all fulness of hope."

The other, *Mējżoob*, signifies attracted, drawn or carried away, abstracted, allured, &c., from *jezb*, attraction, allurements—as iron to the magnet, as the moth to the taper. He is, on the contrary, all on fire, enthusiastic, and wrapt up ever in the divine and burning love of the resplendent glory of God, whose nature in that respect is called *Noor Jētāl*, or "the ardent and consuming glory" he partakes of; as when the Almighty is represented in the majesty of his glory, greatness, and wrath; or when a ray and particle of him appeared in the burning bush, and when Moses' countenance became resplendent from him. The *jēmāl* is more in the nature of that beauty as expressed in Solomon's Song. In fine, to illustrate greater things by small, the sun is represented by the Mahomedans as a small particle of his *jētāl* (nature), and to be created from that; while the moon is from his *jēmāl*. The *Mējżoob* is ever *must*, or in the

state of intoxication from the wine of divine love,—not regarding temporal comforts or blessings for himself; if he is favourable to a humble suppliant he makes him like himself; but that is seldom the case, as he is most generally full of wrath and indignation at the wickedness of the world: and besides, wrapt up in the contemplation of the *jētāl*, or ardent and consuming glory, and not of the *jēmāl*, or mildly beaming nature of the Almighty, his curse or deprecation takes immediate effect; were he but to be intruded upon, roused *from

* 100 his reverie, or offended by those who did not know better, as Elisha when the little children mocked him.

So many passages from the Holy Scriptures seem to speak in the language of Sufiism, that I hope I shall not be censured in having quoted and still quoting them, as Sufiism is evidently the system of spiritualism, or nearly the doctrine of grace; I may venture to say, though no mention is made of our Saviour by name, yet, from a Persian treatise I have, the Trinity appears pretty clearly inferred and understood. Some passages relative to that I shall extract and give in another part of this paper.

Of the apostles, St. Paul seems to treat the most on faith, love towards God, and grace, in contradistinction to the law; indeed the whole Gospels and Epistles dwell so much on the preëminence and actual necessity hereof, that it renders it unnecessary to adduce passages in support. There are certainly many mystical parts in the New Testament, laying aside the whole of the Revelations:—thus I apprehend that the person caught up into the third heaven, as St. Paul mentions (2 Cor., chap. xii., ver. 1, 2, 3, and 4) seems to correspond with the *Mējžooob*, or those who are said in Scripture to be carried in the spirit or thrown into a trance, as Enoch, Elisha, and Elijah were in the former instance, and Ezekiel in the latter:—or again, those who are called the violent, and said to take the kingdom of heaven by force (*vide* St. Matt., chap. xi., ver. 12, also St. Luke, chap. xvi., ver. 16).

So much being said about the *Sālik* and *Mējžooob*, it requires but little to observe of the third sort, or *Mējžooob Sālik*,

which is of the mixed kind or partakes of the above two, as the term implies. However, it must not be understood altogether in this case to be an intermediate state, but sometimes *Salik* and sometimes *Mējēzoob*, as Bayezid Bōstani was, who occasionally branched out into all the enthusiasm imaginable, saying that God was with him, and by him, and in him—nay, in the sleeve of his garment; and then again he came at times into the regular order of piety and devotion, hoping that God would forgive him his sins, and let his latter end be that of the righteous. Bayezid Auseri appears to have been of this double order, as appears by his two signets.

* 6. *On those who are accounted Sūfis, and the double distinction of Sālīk and Mējēzoob.*

* 101

“The Sūfi has no religion, on account of his non-observance of the rites, forms, or ceremonies of any religion:” so says the Mahomedan lawgiver, who, though he enacted laws, rites, and forms, and followed them himself as an example to others, yet was perfectly acquainted with the four states. This the Mahomedans say, and that this mysterious system took its origin, or rather publicity, from him. It is necessary to observe that the Mahomedans conceive all the *umlia* or prophets and patriarchs, all their *oulia* or saints, all their great poets and men of profound erudition, and, in fine, all who have any very strong claim to preëminence or superior sanctity, to have been Sūfis or men of this description, some in one stage and some in another, some *Sālīk* and some *Mējēzoob*. Thus, for instance, the renowned Kubeer was one, some of whose excellent *dohrahs* or epigrams in the Hindoostany language shall be recited along with others, as giving a tolerable idea of their tenets; the famous Shah Shereef Boo Ale Qulunder, a *fugeer* or dervesh, and the founder of a particular order called the *Qiländer*, which is one of his name; a remarkable *guzzel* or ode of his shall be given. The wonderful Shems Tebreez was one, and worked extraordinary miracles; the celebrated Sheikh Fereed, surnamed *Shiker gunj*, that is, (raising) the heap of sugar, was one also, and a very wonderful one. The extraordinary Bayezid Bostani was one who claimed divinity, or the fourth state; also the

aforementioned Munsoor Hülāj, the wise and pure Toorab Shah, besides a long list of others. This last composed several verses, upwards of 200, on the subject of the inefficacy and inutility of practical worship. I here subjoin a few who are classed as *Sālik* and *Mġġzoob*, as the whole list would far exceed the limits of this paper, and I think would prove greater than the Roman calendar of saints;—the prophets, simply, are reckoned by the Mahomedans to be in number one hundred and twenty-four thousand.

* 102 * 1. *Sālik*.

2. *Mġġzoob*.

Khājah Nizamud-deen.	Shems Tebrez.
Seyed Muntijud-ud-deen, sur-named Zer Zeree Zerbuksh.	Munsoor Hülāj.
Ameer Khosroo.	Khajeh Hāfiz.
Ameer Hussan.	Shah Shereef BoosAly Qulunder.
Khajeh Nusseer-ud-deen.	Sheikh Aboo-beker Shible.
Khajeh Bundeh Nīwāz.	Ainul Koozat Humdani.
Khajeh Ameen-ud-deen.	Sirmud.
Khajeh Boorhan-ud-deen.	Shah Hussein Duddee.
Khajeh Mūteen-ud-deen.	Shah Peim.
Khajeh Kootub-ud-deen.	
Sheikh Fereed Shiker Gunj.	
Sheikh Sādi Shirazi.	

It is curious and worthy of remark that idiots, who in Barbary are revered as saints, are likewise so in India, and ranked as Sūfis, most generally of the Mġġzoob order. Their idiocy or privation of understanding in worldly concerns, when proceeding from very strong reflection on our nature and an after-state, is the very acquirement deemed requisite. Thus it is not to be inferred that all idiots are so, but only that people who are thus inclined towards spiritualism, or in other words religiously mad, would appear so; being wrapt up in their own minds and thoughts, idea-less and insensible to the objects surrounding them: hence the original import of the word Idiot, from the Greek *idios*, *proprius*, "one's own," or the like.

7. *Authorities on the Inefficacy of Practical Worship.*

I shall now proceed to give, what I promised, several

specimens of their opinions and authorities, principally upon the subject of the inefficacy of practical worship regarding themselves and others likewise, in opposition to *Shěryát*, which positively enjoins it, and for which the Mussulman doctors are such strenuous advocates (like the Jews of old in the time of our *Saviour), though at the same time those (Mussulmans) whom I have met with, and I believe all in general, at * 103 least Sunnis in India, pay due deference and tacitly acknowledge the superiority of Sufism, but plead the extreme difficulty of entering into that system, and performing its harder mandates. One verse runs thus:—

منکا منا پھیرنا ہوں حاجت تسبیح نہیں
کیا کرونگا اگر منکا سلیمانی ملی

“I turn over the beads of the mind, there is no occasion for the rosary. What should I do were I (even) to get the beads of Solomon?”

The beads of the royal prophet Solomon are supposed to be the onyx stone, hence called *Sungi Sulimani*, or the stone of Solomon, with which he used to recite his prayers, and afterwards dispersed them over the earth. There is another distich in Hindoostany very similar: “A *jogue* has elapsed in turning over the rosary, and the mind (or chaplet of beads) has turned likewise—Put by the wooden rosary, and turn over the beads of the mind.”

I shall now give some of Kubeer's famous distichs:—

کبیر مر نیگوست لوگ درین میرا جیو توانند
کب مروں کب پاؤں جہان پورن پر مانند

“Kubeer, every one is afraid to die; my soul is in joy.

“When may I die? when may I find? where, then, is that supreme bliss?”

Note.— This alludes to the union of the soul with the Deity, called in Persian or Arabic *wasilet*, and in Sounscrūt *Moksh*.

کبیر مرنا ادا مرنا نبوجی کوی
میں کبیر ایسا مروں پھر پھر مرنا نا ہوی

“Kubeer, come and die; no one knows what dying is;

"I Kubeer will die so that there won't be (occasion) to die again."

Note.—This has likewise the same allusion as the above, implying the * state of *wasilet* or *moksh*, absorption in
 * 104 the divine essence and supreme beatitude, being lost and entranced as it were in ecstasy, and never after subject to be born again in this world, or to transmigration, as the Hindoos conceive, after having fulfilled their period of happiness and joy in heaven, as separate essences agreeably to their measure of virtue and good done in this world.

اس بات سي ڪير ڪهي جي رام ڪا سواس هي
 سري نام چاس هي يون هر ٿا ڪيا هرا

Kubeer gives this sentence, That whoever attaches himself to *Ram* (the Deity), he it is who uses his name; if he should be a Mussulman, what does it signify?

Note.—This is evidently a reconciling sentence to all parties, and abolishes all feuds. There is likewise a deal of art in it, for Kubeer was a Mussulman, that is, born so, but a pure theist in principle; he addresses himself to Hindoos, and insinuates himself into their good graces by showing, first, that being a Mussulman is no disparagement in the worship of God, and then making use of the term *Ram*; one of the ten incarnations of the Hindoo's god Vishnoo, but which in this light is to be taken and understood for the Deity himself. It is necessary to observe that the term *Yčvčn* means a Mussulman; it is a Sounscrūt word, and is derived from the root *yoo*, to mix, meaning a mixed people. The term was applied formerly to the Grecians and all foreigners, in the same manner as the Greeks and Romans made use of the word Barbarian to all others but themselves: in latter ages, since the origin and rise of the Mussulmans, it is to be understood to be applied solely to them.

ڪير ڪه مين ايسا هرون جهان اپنانين ڪوئي
 ڪولا ڪوتا ڪهان جائی سچ ٻندار هي

Kubeer says, "I will die where no one of mine is near me, so that jackals and dogs may eat me; then the repository will be so much the easier."

* *Note*.—There will be perceived at first sight a great oddity and singularity of sentiment; but upon looking * 105 into the system and becoming acquainted with it the liberality and charity here expressed will not escape observation; and, in order to elucidate this and appreciate its worth, it must be remarked that all persons are in some degree more or less superstitious or ceremonious with regard to the rites of burial, in whatever manner: the merit here is the greater, considering the people and age the most excellent Kūbeer lived in—knowing their tenaciousness of rites and ceremonies on all occasions, and that there cannot be a greater curse or malediction denounced against a person than when one says, “May you die in a desert place when there is no water and no one near”; but this is only and truly consonant to the spirit of Sūfism, which disclaims all *Jismāni ūmul*, or exoteric doctrine, and embraces the esoteric. Again, the strong feature of charity is observable in permitting the beasts of the field to eat his body:—this is what I learn to be the spirit of the sentence. *Bundhar* signifies a storehouse, a repository for charitable purposes.

There are two more distichs of anonymous authors, both to the purport of the inefficacy of practical worship:—

جنے آپکو جو یا نہیں تن من کھر یا نہیں
من میل کر دھو یا نہیں انگل کیا تو کیا ہوا

“He who has not seen himself, who has not destroyed (lost or thrown away) his mind and body—

“Has not washed away the dirt of his mind: Although he may have performed ablution, what does it signify?”

Note.—The literal meaning of the word *Khoya* in this sentence is “may have lost:” it means in this case for a man not to put too much value on his mind or person, and consequently to pay too great a regard thereto, and to take too much care thereof; but, on the contrary, to lose them to all sense of vanity, worldly appetite and pleasure, and make them dead in that respect. Similar in latent meaning to this note is. * 106 this passage * in Scripture where it is said, “Whosoever

shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it." (Luke, chap. xvii., ver. 33.)

کتابها با مال دهندا کري جنگال کا
رہدي دہري چندان کا کاسي گيا ترکيا ہوا

"If you have put on the rosary made of wood, and performed a work of strife and evil, and harboured an evil conscience, What does it signify though you have gone to Cassi?"

Note.—Cassi or Banares is the most famous or chief pilgrimage among the Hindûs. This is the language of the Sûfis: they are principally from Hindu or Hindoostany authorities.

I will now give some Persian specimens, I believe never hitherto printed: I received them orally with some explanations.

"The earth on the road to my beloved is the water of life to me.

"The most charming in both worlds is his countenance, which is the moon to me.

"If I should be buried in a tomb in a foreign country, I would make a passage under the earth, and go to the road of my beloved;

"The day of resurrection will take place, and the scale (of retribution) rise to the balance;

"The world will go to heaven, but I will go to my beloved."

Note.—The Sûfis aspire to a higher degree of felicity than heaven, which they conceive sensual. (*Vil. Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, under the head of Paradise, Sec. 3, p. 126, &c.*)

"Bring, O cup-bearer, for I am dying, a shroud made of the vine-leaf;

"Perform my ablutions with wine, and bury me in a wine-vault.

"If that lovely youth of Turkistan would yield his intoxicated heart to me,

"I would give for the black mole on his cheek the country of Hindoostan as a tribute.

"If you wish to see roses and flowers, enjoy then the sight of thy own face,

*“ But if you had rather the autumn season, then turn thy sight, O love ! towards me.” * 107

Note.—The meaning of these odes and the following will be clearly understood when I refer the reader to the Discourse already mentioned on the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.) Suffice it for the present to observe, that they are not to be taken in the bacchanalian, or libertine sense, but, like Solomon’s Song, in the mystical one ; although they may admit of the *Mijazee* or temporal turn towards pleasure, yet the *Huqeeqee* or spiritual one towards ardent devotion is to be understood ; but this lies with the opinions of those who read such works as Hafiz, &c. All do not possess the same disposition or way of thinking. There is nothing faulty in Nature and her works ; the fault lies in the abuse thereof, the depravity of our minds, and our vile constructions, owing in a great measure to the excess of refinement, the other extreme.

The famous Latin ode by Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford in the eleventh century, bears so much resemblance in spirit to this Persian ode that it will occur to the recollection of every reader. By a Sâfi it would indubitably be taken in a mystic sense, though I don’t suppose it was ever so taken by Walter Mapes or any of his age.

The religious might be disposed to term it blasphemous, “ *Mihi sit propositum in taberna mori*,” &c.

Another mystic ode of Boo Aly Qulunder abounds with ideas of the same class :

“ If I should see suddenly in a night that King of the beloved,

“ I would place my head at his feet, and offer my heart and soul as a sacrifice.

“ In surrounding the temple of Caaba, the face of my beloved is Caaba ;

“ I will take the circuit of the tavern, and kiss the feet of those intoxicated ;

“ If I should sit in the temple of idols, I would pay my adoration before the idol ;

“ If I should find a purchaser, I would sell my religion and faith.

"Don't say that this is the language of an infidel; if thou sayest so, thou art an infidel:

*"Begone, O adversary, from me! what dost thou know
* 108 of the mysteries of man?"

A Sûfi ode of Shems Tebreez may be added in further illustration of these doctrines:

"What advice, O Mussulmans? as I don't know myself; I am neither Christian nor Jew, nor am I a fire-worshipper nor Mussulman.

"I am not from the East or West, nor am I of land or fire.

"I am not from the country of Irac, nor am I from the land of Khoorasan.

"I am neither of water nor air, nor am I of fire or earth.

"I am not of Adam or Eve, nor am I of the inhabitants of paradise.

"My place is no place, my sign is without sign:

"I have neither body nor soul,—what is there then? I am the soul of my beloved.

"When I took out my heart, the two worlds I saw as one; he is the first, he is the last, he is the manifest, he is the secret.

"Except him, and that I am him, I do not know anything else.

"O thou Shems Tebreez, why this rapture in this world? Except with rapture and enthusiastic ardour this work cannot be effected."

I have given perfectly literal translations of all these odes and distichs:—we want the real knowledge; the beauty, as it always is, is in the original. I could adduce more on this divine love and mystical union with God; but I hope this will be sufficient for the present. Scripture saith, "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him": and of the mystical union; "But he that is joined into the Lord is one spirit." One of our best writers, Young, says on this head,

"When shall my soul her incarnation quit;
And, readopted to thy blest embrace,
Obtain her apotheosis in thee?"

8. *Comparison of the Holy Trinity with the Sûfis' three Hypostases.*

In the fifth head of this treatise I made a remark relative to the Trinity. I shall now, previous to the narrations promised in the introduction, proceed to give some passages from the *Makhzen-us-Salikeen* and *Maqsood-ni-Arafain* *109 herein, showing the analogy between the Christian Trinity and the Sûfis' three hypostases.

By this work the Almighty manifested and displayed with the glory of his beloved all this fair creation according to his holy word (*Hadees Koodsee*, that is by the Holy Ghost) thus,
Lo lâk limor azeheartoo rehoobiyetu.

“Had I not begotten thee, I should never have manifested my Godhead. (In Scriptural language Christ is called the beloved, and beloved son : *vide* St. Luke, ch. iii. ver. 22.) Now in the firstlight and splendour (that of God the Father) for the sake of the king of the beloved and elect (the Son), the Love (the Holy Ghost) which was overcome (and lay dormant in the Father) rose up and became victorious between the beloved (the Son) and him who loves all (the Father).” *Koonte kunzun mukh feun fahabeetoo an ûr âfî*, “This treasure (the universe and all created things) lay in secret and concealed (in the nature of God) ; afterwards Love arose, that I (the Lord) should be known.”

The following is a tetrastich stanza in Persian :—

این نکته وحدت که درو گشته بیکبار
مکتوب و محبت و محب جمله دیدار
در مظهر انسان شده نور نمودار
آن گنج حقی نیز بد آن نور شد اظهار

1. “This jot of unity arose from out of him at once ;
2. “Then the beloved, Love itself, and he who loves all, became manifest.
3. “The light and glory descended and became visible in the nature of man,
4. “That treasure which was latent became enlightened by that glory.”

I think there can be no stronger language in the mystery of the Trinity than this, and no stronger proof, especially from Mahomedan authority ; though I am sorry to say they do not

take it as such. The beloved, *Mahboob*, is the Son ; Love itself, *Mohbut*, is the Holy Ghost ; and he who loves all, *Mohib*, is evidently the Father. The third verse speaks very clearly, and the fourth too, in the manner of Saint John in his Gospel, * 110 ch. i. ver. 14, *and third verse of the same chapter. Thus the world lay latent in the Deity himself till he willed and brought it to light. This reminds me of the doctrines of the Veidant philosophy on the creation of the world, as well as of a very beautiful passage in Akonside containing a similar idea :

“.....Ere the rising sun

Shone o’er the deep, or ’mid the vault of night,” &c.

In the mystery of human nature God manifested and made himself known : he is termed the hidden treasure, or *Koon te Kunyun mukh fiyun*. According to this tradition, *Ma Khulq ulluho sheyun ushbðhoo illa bina Adumā*, “God Almighty created all things in his own likeness ; but mankind are not to attribute any likeness to him,” for he has no one like unto him. All will be collected together in another world ; but know that this similitude of the Almighty is not in the heart ; the secret mark thereof is on the soul ; for this soul is a ray of his splendour. After the creation of the universe, the splendour or glory of the Almighty remained permanent in its own existence ; its place is no place, and its world is without sign or mark ; it comes not within the compass of knowledge, nor is it manifest : Know that this glory has no fixed place, it is a ray of the mercy of the Almighty ; without a pure desire and ardent love this truth and mystery cannot be ascertained ; until the *salik* or traveller in this road arrives to the stage of his own soul, to know its nature, the true Γνωθὶ σεαυτον,—*know thyself*,—he can never understand this ; according to the tradition.

“The souls were created in appearance like atoms ; after that my glory shone upon them ; whoever has known the mystery thereof has had my instruction, and whoever has not, is lost in himself. The soul is the mirror or reflection of glory, and glory is the mirror of the Almighty.”

The Mussulmans, as we may readily suppose, say that the Be-

loved means their prophet, that he was created from the Glory (*Noor*) of the Almighty, and that from his glory the whole universe was created. However, I have only to observe that whatever they or their lawgiver may adduce in support of such assertions may perhaps find credit with their *âhil Sherâa*, or observers of the law, but not with any others, or even *Sûfis* of their stock. These partial texts, it strikes me, are artfully put into their works by those scribes and pharisees of the Mahomedan syna*gogue, to keep up *Shêryât*, or the law. * 111 This is a most artful contrivance to endeavour to establish that præminence, approaching divinity, in one (Mahomed) who instituted their law, to another doctrine (Sufism), the doctrine of spiritualism and grace, I may almost say which runs counter to the tenets of the former: this is to occasion a clinging still and hankering after the old leaven; thus by their gross inversions and perversions of the meaning of what may have been originally and really composed by devout or inspired *Sûfis*, they apply them to their own doctrine to enhance it thereby.

" Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes. "

9. *Anecdotes or Narrations promised in the Introduction.*

The following narrations may not be uninteresting or unamusing: they are related as being the true state of Sufism in its fourth or grand state, where the spirit has got the victory over the body, by the mortifying thereof, faith, incessant prayer, and contemplation of the Almighty; it can then work deeds and miracles, like the unembodied spirit or angels as we may conceive:—they are universally believed by orthodox Mussulmans, and are popular circumstances; as such I relate them.

NARRATION 1.

A very wonderful personage among the *Sûfis* is Munsoor Halâj, who claimed divinity or the fourth state and stage of this mystical system; he used to say and continually repeat the words *Ân ul huq*, that is, "I am the truth," meaning God, being one of his grand epithets. The circumstance took place thus:—He had observed his sister go out very frequently at night: thinking this rather strange, as she went out alone, he

was resolved to watch her and see where she went to : he did so, and found she went to a company of celestial spirits, being the *Hoor* or virgins of paradise, who were administering nectar or the immortal beverage of theirs to her : seeing this, and thinking that after she had drunk she might leave a drop or two at the bottom, he went, took up the cup, and drank the drop or two which did remain, though his sister did everything to prevent him, * saying that he would not be able to

* 112 contain it or restrain the effects thereof, that it would be the occasion of much trouble coming to him, and ultimately his death ; which was verified by the sequel ; for from that time he was continually exclaiming “ I am the truth,” as aforementioned ; or in other words more impressive, the meaning and sense of the letter being the same, “ I am God.” This was of course very offensive to the *āhil Sherāa*, or observers of the canonical law, who sentenced him thereby to be impaled alive. When the people came to take him for that purpose, he said, before they arrived, that they were coming to apprehend him, and that he should be impaled alive ; that he did not suffer, for mau did not know anything of him. When they had taken him to the stake and were putting him on it, they could not effect it, for he appeared in a sitting posture in the air at a small distance over the stake ; and this was repeated several times : the story goes that his spirit then ascended to the imperial vault of heaven, when he saw the Prophet (Mahomed) ; that he spoke to him and asked if he should permit himself to suffer under these circumstances. The Prophet showed him a hole in a wall, and said it was ordained and written in the book of fate that that place (the hole in the wall) was to be as a sign or niche for the stake on which he (Munsoor) was to be impaled alive. The Prophet acknowledged that he had arrived to the state of *wasilet*, and that saying “ I am God ” was just and true ; but, for the sake of *Shēryāt* and religion, that he should permit himself to suffer, otherwise there would be an end to religion, and men would be led astray and pay no attention to practical worship, or ever worship the invisible God in spirit, but take men and visible objects, possessing his spirit,

for their adoration. On this, Munsoor Halāj's spirit descended and permitted the body to take the course of nature. When he was then about to be impaled, he called a disciple of his to him, and imparted the secret to him, by making him then acquainted with the different states, and moreover told him that after he had quitted the body they would turn it and throw the ashes thereof into the sea, that the same voice would issue forth, that is, *Ān ul hug*, "I am the truth," and that the sea would boil and swell to a great height and overflow all the land. In order to prevent that, he * directed him to go to his place, and take a *godhra* of his (a kind of old patched counterpane of shreds, which * 113 Fuqeers frequently have to lie down upon and throw over their shoulders), and place it on the rising waves of the sea; when they would cease, and return to their former state. At the time of his being impaled, this same voice was heard; after he was dead, the same; and when they had burnt the body and thrown the ashes thereof into the sea, the same voice issued forth;—that element not being able to contain the divine particle so fully, boiled and rose to an immense height, when it was overflowing the land, but was suppressed by the disciple throwing the *godhra* over it.—There is a distich or two made upon this occasion by one Shibli a poet, and Sūfi of the same order, that is *Mējżoob*; he is down in the small list of *Mējżoob*, Sheikh Aboobeker Shibli;—he is represented asking the Almighty why Munsoor suffered; and the reply is annexed thus:—

Question.—Shibli put this question to the palace of the gracious lord,—Why did the prince put Munsoor on the impaling stake?

Answer.—Munsoor was acquainted with everything, (but) was a friend who discovered secrets and mysteries:—

Whoever makes public mysteries and hidden things, this is his punishment.

NARRATION 2.

I shall relate one more story, and that is of the celebrated Shems Tebreez, one of whose extraordinary odes I have already

quoted. The story runs thus:—The king of the country had an only son, who fell sick and died; he was naturally very much grieved, and his grief was so extravagant that he was determined to have this son brought to life: he therefore assembled all the Cauzies (expounders of the law) and learned men of his city, told them the circumstance, and that he was determined to have his son restored to life, otherwise he would put them all to death: after saying that, he confined them, and enjoined them to take their measures accordingly to restore his son to life. None of them having that power, they remained a considerable time in confinement;—at last they bethought themselves of Shems Tebreez, and, from his sanctity and austere mode of life,* concluded that if any one could, he could raise

* 114 the dead to life. He was sent for, and told the occasion;

when he said he knew their designs, and that it was a snare laid for him, and that they intended to take away his life. They begged of him very much, representing the state the king was in, that he was determined to take away all their lives, the merit there would be in his serving them, and, moreover, that there was a tradition of the Prophet (Mahomed) that some of his religion and followers should be able to raise the dead to life by their own order; they hoped that he would verify that, as he had the power to perform, and the authority of the Prophet, acting only in consonance to his tradition. Shems Tebreez consented at last, under all these circumstances, though he observed again he knew the wile and deceit in their hearts; that he should be brought to account by the *Shëryât* and punished accordingly. He then ordered a sheet to be brought and threw it over the corpse of the prince; then stretching himself on the body he said, *Koöm ba izne*, which is, "Rise by my order." The corpse was immediately restored to life, the king to joy: the learned men were released. After all this, they summoned him before the tribunal of the *Shëryât*, or ecclesiastical court as we should say, to account for his making use of such expressions:—it was not because he raised the dead to life, for others did it before him, but his saying *Koöm ba izne*, "Rise by my order;" whereas even Jesus himself only

said, when he raised the dead to life, *Koöm ba iznilluh*, "Rise by the order of the Lord." (This is a manifest error, but it is their story; Christ's general order was *Oumi* or *Koöm*, "Arise," which is the same in Hebrew as in Arabic; Elisha might have said so when he raised the Shunamite's child to life, as he prayed unto the Lord.) He acknowledged it, and said he was ready to undergo any punishment the law might ordain, which on being referred to was flaying alive. When the sentence was ordered to be put into execution, no knives could cut him, though they tried in different parts; his body was become invulnerable. It is related that he ascended in spirit to one of the heavens, where he saw a most superb tent belonging to the Prophet (Mahomed) stretched out, and the Prophet within it; but the tent had a rent, and the sun was shining through it full in the *Prophet's face, to his inconvenience:—Shems Tebreez asked him the reason of this, and said that it *115 should be mended: the Prophet replied that it was the tent of *Shëryât*, and that the rent therein was occasioned by him (Shems Tebreez) in the above instance, by acting thus against *Shëryât*, and that it could only be mended by his undergoing the punishment due thereto; which he assented to. After this spiritual intercourse, he told the doctors and teachers of the law to cut the skin from his feet; or rather he himself made an incision at his toe; from thence they stript off the whole of the skin of his body. When they had thus flayed him, he requested his own skin, as the letter of the law was fulfilled: they gave it to him. This he made his *khirqeh* or derveish's habit, throw it over his shoulders, and went away. These doctors, moreover, warned the people under severe penalty not to entertain Shems Tebreez, or give him anything to eat or drink. After he had thus remained some days without meat or drink, as no one would give him any, he went at last to the outskirts of the town, where there was a dead ox:—having cut a piece out of it, he went again begging some one to dress it for him, or give him fire; but no one now would suffer him to come near, on account of his whole body being an entire ulcer full of pus and maggots, and the intolerable stench proceeding

from it. At last, after wandering about a considerable time, and seeing no one would dress it for him or give him fire, being then as it were driven to necessity he ordered the sun to descend from the firmament and come nearer to broil his meat:—it immediately obeyed the summons, when the natural consequences may be expected;—every one then, with the prince at the head and the learned and great men who reduced him to this state, implored him to relieve their sufferings by ordering the sun to return to its station; which he granted.

NARRATION 3.

There was a Faqeer of this (Sûfi) order whom after his decease and burial the two examining angels, Moonkir and Nikir,† came to. On ask*ing him the tenets of his faith, * 116 the cynical philosopher deigned not to reply to that, but said "Bring me a hookah." The examining angels were astonished, left him, flew directly to the divine presence and related the circumstance; a voice issued from the throne that it should be granted him, as he was his (the Lord's) friend and beloved. They consequently returned to the grave with the hookah, and presented it. After smoking it some time, and at last puffing out a whole column of smoke, which condensed itself on the opposite side of the grave, he then told them to look there for the tenets of his faith. They did so, and perceived the essential creed amongst the Mussulmans in large characters, "There is no god but God, and Maḥomed is the prophet of God." They were satisfied, and went away.

10. *An Inference drawn on a Difference between the Sûfis and Observers of the Law, from a peculiar saying of each.*

In the first instance the Sûfis say, *Aun hemeh o est*,‡ "That all is He;" and the observers of the law, *Hemeh azô est*,§ "All is from him." The distinction and idea they are intended to

† These are the two examining angels, who come to the graves. This visit is called *Hibboot-ak-Keber*, or "the beating of the grave." Vide Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran.

‡ أن همه اوست

§ همه از اوست

convey are very visible. However, as this is no small point in metaphysics, I shall offer my brief remarks, such as I have received and been led to understand, supported by the authorities of the Koran and traditions. 1st, The observers of the law say that "All is from Him," without being in the least connected with, either by nature or essence, but wholly and solely dependent on him, and produced by his almighty fiat. Thus *Izza arada Shëyan an Yekoola rekoo koon fiekoön*, "His command, when he willeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it Be, and it is:" that his will and pleasure act upon objects through the medium of natural causes when requisite, and by others when more powerful are required; and not through the intervention of his essence, or divine spirit, continually residing in and actually working upon matter: in fine, they conceive that he is separate from everything, that his nature is incomprehensible, by this saying of Aly, the son-in-law of Mahomed: "It (the nature of God) is not found by the apparent senses, nor has it been substantiated by secret opinion or imagination." Again, the *āhil* **Shirāa* say that before the foundation of the world was laid, everything that has happened, does *117 happen, and will happen until the dissolution thereof, was pre-ordained and recorded; and as everything was previously and necessarily known by the Almighty, his omniscience being such, and as such, must indubitably take place.

2nd. Now the *Sūfis*, on the other hand, say that the power, energy, or latent spirit of the Deity is in all matter, substance, and form, without which that matter could not perform its functions or exist:—thus the growth of the tree is his vivifying power therein; when this is withdrawn, that dies. Effects are made to proceed from natural or secondary causes, and we are naturally again led to judge of them in that light, though the other is the real primary and invisible cause. Everything proceeds in a concatenary order, and has links one suspending on the other, till the final one is Himself; thus regarding man according to the *Hadees Koodsee*, or holy tradition and word of God:—

"Truly in the body of the son of Adam is a lump of flesh; and in the lump of flesh is the heart; and in the heart, the spirit;

and in the spirit, mystery; and in this mystery, light; and in this light, I (the Lord). All these are one in *Huqeequt* or reality, but different in their actions.”—“That all is He,” or all that is, which we can both see and conceive, is He; that is, but a thought of him—an effusion of his nature; we the spiritual forms—an emanation of his essence. Thus he is in everything, and pervades his whole creation, by this passage from the Koran, *Kool Shěyun Moheet*, “Doth not he encompass all things?” Again, by this passage also from the Koran:—

“Whithersoever you turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God;” which is to be understood of the meaning of the word Omnipresence.†

11. *The conclusion, being the Analogy drawn between Sufism and Christian Spiritualism.*

As the nature of Sufism has been so far described, and, as Young says, “Analogy, man’s surest guide below,” it may not be irrelevant, nor I hope *decmed amiss, if I conclude
 * 118 this treatise by drawing an analogy between it and the spiritual man of our doctrine in the 2nd chapter of St. Paul’s 1st Epist. Cor., and in fact throughout the whole New Testament, the doctrine of grace doing away with the law and its works; for the Mussulman Shěryât in its feature very much resembles the Jewish dispensation, from which, together with some parts of the Christian faith, it was evidently borrowed, though both greatly interpolated and misinterpreted.

The grand thing herein is to “know one’s self,” according to the motto-I have adopted, in its full spiritual and proper sense. “The proper study of mankind is man:” let him circle the globe, let him traverse the skies; and then, for something more worthy his notice and admiration, return to himself. To himself he is a theatre immense, and was reputed such when that theatre had much less to exhibit than at present it can boast, and when it was but faintly illuminated with the glimmering beams of far more feeble light. The so-renowned ‘Know thyself’ was nothing but a precept enjoining a close inspection

† *Vide Sale’s Koran*, vol. i., ch. 2, p. 23.

and survey of this theatre; yet that precept, as to its author, was held divine, and as to its precept the supreme wisdom of man. That precept is now exalted into an awful command from heaven; and that theatre is consecrated into a venerable temple, a temple of the Holy Spirit.

"He who has known himself has most assuredly known the Lord." The Sûfi is supposed to attain this knowledge while in this state of trial and probation here below:—on this St. Paul saith, "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known."

Young says, "Divine contemplate and become divine." And again, "No man ever thought too highly of his nature, or too meanly of himself." The Sûfi entertains all these, and more; he is ever wrapt up in contemplation of the divine perfection: the Deity he styles his idol and beloved, and addresses him in the language of a lover to his mistress. This shows the justness of Rousseau's observation, which will elucidate this and the Persian mystic ode:—"When the passion of love is at its height," says Rousseau, "it arrays the beloved object in every possible * perfection; makes it an idol, places it in heaven; and as the enthusiasm of devotion borrows the * 119 language of love, the enthusiasm of love also borrows the language of devotion:—the lover beholds nothing but paradise, angels, the virtues of saints, and the felicities of heaven." Thus was the love of Leila and Mijnoon (the Romeo and Juliet of the East), according to Mahomedan accounts. The Sûfi when thus contemplating the image of his Maker is insensible to every object around him; he conceives himself united with him, and changed into his essence:—thus St. Paul saith, "But we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." The various religions and contentions thereabouts are equally indifferent to him; he sees not and knows not the difference, by this Persian distich and beautiful simile:—

"He who is maddened to the heart with the arrow of love

knows not the infidel or believer; What does the precious signet know of the engraving thereon, whether it is reversed or not?" As he is in love, and full of perfect and divine love which has no fear, so God is in him by this *Hudees, Koodsee*.

"He (the Lord) is not contained in the heaven or earth, but he is contained in the heart of the true believer and worshipper." Also—

"The heart is the house of the Lord, and the light thereof is of the Lord." Here the Sûfi is lost in Deity absolute; being led by the spirit, he is not under the law:—thus St. Paul, Gal., ch. v., ver. 18. He sees God "in every appearance and form;" and by this Arabic saying, "By and in unity he sees not anything except God."*

[NOTE.—See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed., vol. XV., article *Mysticism*, pp. 756-758; *Some Account of the Sûfis in Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. II., pp. 266-301; *Observations on the Mussulmans of India*, by Mrs. Meer Hussan Ali, vol. II., pp. 240-313; *Dabistan*, translated into English, vol. II., chap. XII., pp. 220-314. *Some Forms of Sufism may perhaps be traced to the Cabala*—see *Milman's History of the Jews*, vol. III., pp. 431-434. *Notes on Muhammadanism*, by Rev. T. P. Hughes (1875), p. 162; *M. Cousin's History of Modern Philosophy*, vol. II., Lectures V. and VI., on Sensualism, Idealism, Scepticism, and Mysticism in India, and chapter II. of vol. II. of the *History of Modern Philosophy*, by G. H. Lewes (1871), pp. 33 to 70, throw a great deal of light on the subject; *H. H. Wilson's Works*, vol. I., p. 68, *Account of the Followers of Kabîra*, noticed in this paper; and these tenets are followed largely by the followers of Tukârâm, Râmadâs, and others at the present day.—ED.]

* If any pious reader should be alarmed by some of the parallels attempted between extracts of Sûfi writers and texts of the Christian Scriptures, he may be assured that his own mind is not more pure from intentional irreverence than that of the author of the above paper; though he has not always employed that caution in language, of which his long residence in the East has prevented him from learning the usefulness.

ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT, COMPARED WITH THE ANCIENT, STATE OF BABYLON.

By Captain EDWARD FREDERICK, of the Bombay
Establishment.

Read 30th March 1812.

In the course of the year 1811 having been called by my official duties to reside for some time at Bagdad, the vicinity of Babylon, added to the description which Major Rennell gives of the masses of rubbish which still indicate its site, induced me to undertake a journey for the purpose of examining the present state of the ruins of that celebrated city; this resolution was strengthened by the opinion which he expresses, that the discovery of the position and extent of the walls and ditch might still be hoped for,† and that traces of them might still be found, were researches diligently pursued for that purpose. To have succeeded even partially in the attainment of such an object would have yielded me no small degree of satisfaction. For a detail of the reasonings on which Major Rennell appears to doubt the accounts of the ancient authors relative to its extent, I refer to his accurate and learned work on the Geography of Herodotus:—he agrees with D'Anville in assigning to it an area of thirty-two miles in circumference, instead of the enormous one of seventy-two given it by Herodotus.

My sole object in committing the following remarks to paper is to note what I saw while at Hillah, and to indicate how far it differed on examination from the descriptions given by travellers. I have sometimes felt myself obliged to point out certain errors which former travellers have fallen into,—errors the less to be wondered at, as such as had visited the place had in general but little time for examination, and must have been * under considerable solicitude for their personal *121 safety from the wandering Arabs.

* See Rennell's *Geog. of Herodotus*, from page 336 to 338.

Babylon, the capital of Chaldæa and one of the most ancient cities in the world, is said to have been founded by Belus, and embellished by Semiramis, the warlike queen of the East, and afterwards to have been particularly repaired, enlarged, and beautified by Nebuchadnezzar. It is described by Herodotus as situated in an extensive plain, forming a perfect square, which is bisected by the Euphrates running from north to south; each side he states as being one hundred and twenty furlongs in length, and the whole compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, or above seventy-two miles. It was also, he informs us, surrounded by a wide and deep ditch full of water, and a wall two hundred royal cubits (or three hundred feet) in height, and fifty (or seventy-five feet) wide. The earth or clay dug out to form the ditch was made into bricks, and after being baked in a furnace served to compose this enormous rampart; and at every thirtieth course of bricks a layer of heated bitumen and reeds was introduced. The side of the ditch was also lined or faced with the same materials; and at the top of the wall, opposite to each other, were erected small towers of one story in height, between which, adds Herodotus, a chariot and four horses could pass and turn. Along each bank of the river ran a wall less high than the outer one, but of great strength, and which joined the outer walls where they formed an angle with the river. In the centre of the western division of the city was a large and well-fortified space: on this side also Diodorus states the pensile or hanging gardens to have been situated; and on the opposite bank stood the temple of Jupiter Belus, whose enormous gates of brass were still seen in the time of Herodotus: the square inclosure around the temple measured two furlongs each face, or a mile in circumference, and in the midst of this space rose an immense tower, on which was placed another, and on the second a third, and so successively to the number of eight, each successive turret diminishing in size: on the outside were winding stairs to ascend from one tower to another; in the middle of the ascent were seats to allow

* 122 such as mounted to rest themselves. In the highest tower was a * chapel, which contained the bed of the

mistress of the god ; lower down another chapel, in which was a golden statue of Jupiter.

The Euphrates is said to have been made to wind greatly, by artificial canals, a considerable distance above, at Arderrica, but to have run straight through Babylon ; its breadth was five stadia.

Babylonia is described as flat and low, the major part of the lands producing prodigious crops of corn, millet, and sesamum ; but wood or timber seems not to have been abundant, or even procurable of any size, as appears from the statement of the ancient writers, who agree that the palm-trees (of the date kind) were used for the construction of the platform of the bridge said to have been thrown across the Euphrates by Nitocris.

Herodotus adds that very little rain falls in this country, and that the lands are almost entirely fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished, by means of the river, and that its waters are raised and dispersed over the fields by hydraulic engines. Neither the vine, fig, nor olive* thrive in this soil ; but the palm is a common plant, producing bread, wine, and honey.

But above all the curiosities of this country the boats used in the river attracted the attention of Herodotus : he describes them as of a circular form, the outside made of skins, and the interior of willows and reeds, able to carry from one to many asses, besides merchandize. They were constructed in the upper parts of Armenia, and being laden with articles of trade and asses they floated down the stream to Babylon, where, on their arrival, the merchants disposed of their cargo, and also of the materials of which their boats were made, except the skins ; these they put upon their asses, and returned northward by land, as the strength and rapidity of the stream prevented them going back the same way they came.†

* Of these I shall speak hereafter.

† The future desolate state of Babylon is strongly delineated by the ancient prophets :—

“ And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.” *Isaiah*, chap. xiii., ver. 19.

“ Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans : for thou shalt no more be called The lady of kingdoms.” *Ibid.*, chap. xlvii., ver. 5.

*Having premised these few general observations relative to the position and ancient state of Babylon, which seem * 123 to be necessary for the better understanding of the subsequent remarks, I shall now state the result of my own researches during a stay of six days at Hillah, which I dedicated to the examination of these ruins.

After a ride of fourteen hours and a half, with the intermission of only one quarter of an hour, I arrived at Hillah, in March 1811, at half-past nine o'clock at night, from Bagdad, having travelled almost the whole time in a straight line. Rennell makes the distance between these places upwards of sixty miles, a bird's flight :—were I to form a conjecture from the time which I spent on the road and my rate of travelling I should be disposed to allow fifty-three miles.†

The whole country from Bagdad to Hillah is extremely flat and barren, and in most parts liable, from its lowness, to the inundations of the two rivers. Cultivation is entirely confined to the banks of the river, except a little above Hillah, where it may extend a couple of miles inland, but that only during the season the river swells; and those splendid accounts of the Babylonian lands yielding crops of grain two and three hundred fold, compared with the modern face of the country, afford a remarkable proof of the singular desolation to which it has been subjected; for so wretchedly provided are the present inhabitants of a village about twenty-five miles before you reach Hillah with that necessary article of life, water, that they have not at any period of the year a single blade of vegetation in the vicinity of their huts, and are obliged to bring from the distance of some miles the water which they use for drinking. These people are induced to remain in their present miserable habitation from being situated midway between two caravanserais, from which circumstance they gain their liveli-

"And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing, without an inhabitant." *Jeremiah*, chap. li., ver. 37.

"Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire." *Ibid.*, ver. 58.

† Irvin, fifty miles; Sir Harford Jones, sixty-five; and Rennell, sixty.

hood by selling corn, flour, dates, cattle, and asses to the caravans that pass through their village, and supply themselves and others with the coarse garments worn by the common people, made of the wool and hair of their flocks, which graze on the banks of the rivers. But it is proper after this account to add that there are villages on the road, besides three caravanserais, at which travellers can be supplied with provisions and water; and that there cannot be a doubt that, if proper means were taken, the country could with ease be brought to a high state of cultivation, as the decayed banks of very large watercourses are seen in every direction, and particularly that leading from the Tigris to the Euphrates, which could, if kept in repair, disperse the waters of the two rivers over the lands of Babylonia, and admit the whole face of the country to be irrigated during the greatest part of the year.

As early the next morning after my arrival as circumstances would admit, I hired horses, for my own were entirely incapable of any present exertion, from fatigue: I mounted, and spent eight hours of that day in riding to, and viewing, a mound of rubbish on the right bank to the south-west of Hillah, distant about seven miles. It had been seen, but not visited, by Niebuhr: he calls it a watchtower; no other traveller even mentions it. It is an immense mass, with a wall nine feet thick rising out of the centre of it to the height of sixty feet; its top is very considerably higher than that of Aggurkeef, or Nimrod's tower, near Bagdad, and of much greater extent in the circle at the base. The materials used here are red and white furnace-baked and sun-burnt bricks, of the size mentioned by travellers as found throughout all Babylonish buildings, about one foot square and from three to four inches thick. The wall before mentioned is of solid masonry, the bricks being furnace-baked, of a yellowish-white colour, and cemented with a thin layer of coarse lime and sand, but no reeds or bitumen were to be found in any part of it. That the wall was quite solid there can be no doubt, as I saw through parts of it by means of the holes which had not been filled up when the

scaffolding had been taken away. Immediately about this, and only on the top of the mound, were many masses heaped upon each other, of six and eight feet diameter, of irregular forms, resembling huge fragments of misshapen rock, above and *below; some of dark blue colour, others a mixture of * 125 blue and yellow beautifully veined. They were extremely hard, and resisted iron in the same manner as any very hard stone would do. I examined these curious masses with much attention, and was at one time inclined to be of opinion, from appearances which struck me as resembling the very porous nature of the bricks, that they were consolidated pieces of fallen brick masonry. This idea, however, was soon dissipated, when I was unable to discover the regular layers of cement: as these masses were shapeless, and so huge as to make me think they never could have possessed any regular form, I was at a loss what to attribute them to, or even to conjecture how they could have been procured, as there is not a particle of stone in this country, nor did I see or hear of any building in the neighbourhood that could have admitted of my concluding that such immense fragments had ever composed part of a structure. The bricks with inscriptions upon them are most generally found here by the Arabs, who are constantly employed in digging for them to build the houses at Hillah.

Near this mound is another, not so high but rather more extensive, divided completely from the former by a space of one hundred and twenty paces, and having no kind of building standing on it except a small conical one resembling Zobeide's tomb at Bagdad, and of the same workmanship. Bricks, however, are dug out of this place in great quantities for buildings, but, I understand, none with impressions of characters on them.

Between these two mounds and the Euphrates there are no others of any description;—a fact of which I am entirely satisfied from the result of my inquiries, as also from the particular attention with which I observed the face of the country while passing over it, and during the time I was on the top of the mound. About a mile and a half from Hillah, on the eastern side of the Euphrates, is a mound of some length,

close along the bank of the river, but possessing no particular feature to render it remarkable. About two miles further on in an easterly direction is another, more extensive, from which furnace-baked bricks are procured in large quantities for modern houses, but none of the sun-burnt kind, or any with * inscriptions. At one part of it I saw a wall of red brick even with the surface of the earth and reaching to * 126 the depth of thirty feet in the mound, the surrounding rubbish having been excavated for the purpose of getting at it; at another, not far distant, I saw the remains of a house which must have been of extensive dimensions—some of its walls were still in great preservation ten feet above the surface of the ground, and at other sides of it their foundation had not been reached at the depth of forty-five feet. These walls were six feet eight inches thick, and built entirely of the finest kind of furnace-baked yellowish bricks, and a very thin lime and sand cement. There was not the most distant reason to imagine that reeds and bitumen had been used in the construction of any of the buildings in any part of this mound.†

Not far distant from this house I was shown a decayed tree as being the remains of some of that had been coeval with the place itself; and travellers‡ who had visited these famous ruins have asserted that they had seen a number of very old and uncommon-looking trees along the bank of the river.§ For my part I can go no further than to say that that which I saw certainly had a very decayed appearance, and that I met with no other tree resembling it during the course of my stay at this place. Its girth two feet from the ground measured four feet seven inches, and it might be about twenty feet high; it was hollow, and apparently very old. Proceeding about half a mile further up the eastern bank of the Euphrates, what has been supposed to be Belus's tower presents itself, about a quarter of a mile removed from the edge of the river. It is described by Herodotus, as understood by Major Rennell, as a tower of five

† Della Valle says the principal ruins lie N.N.W. from Hillah.

‡ Otter says he saw some, vol. ii., p. 211; and Mr. Niebuhr.

§ Rennell, p. 365.

hundred feet in the base, and as many in height.† These dimensions, however, appear so disproportionate that Major Rennell, though he does not absolutely deny the fact, yet hesitates in admitting it:— he gives an excellent comparative plan of it and the great pyramid at Memphis.

* He very judiciously observes that the idea of a perpendicular wall five hundred feet high and as many in length is ridiculous, particularly when it is one side of a base only, for a superstructure that must be supposed to bear some proportion to it. Both Strabo and Arrian agree that Belus's sepulchre was of a pyramidal form, one stadium or five hundred feet in height and breadth, that it was destroyed by Xerxes, and Alexander wished to restore it but found the labour of such an undertaking too great. Major Rennell then goes on to say that Herodotus must have meant to write "breadth and length," and not "breadth and height,"‡ in which case he coincides with Strabo; leaving us to imagine it a pyramid consisting of eight stories, in which form and height it resembles the great pyramid at Memphis, except being about twenty feet higher. In Alexander's time the Greeks who mention this sepulchre had also seen the pyramids of Egypt, but no comparisons are drawn by them of either their bulk or height; Strabo asserts that the sides of Belus's temple were of burnt bricks.

Della Valle, in his Travels in 1616, describes this mound or Belus's tower as a heterogeneous mass, of which he could determine nothing as to its original state, and that it measured 1,134 paces or 2,700 feet in circumference: he, however, does not mention what shape it had. I must acknowledge that on reaching it I was agreeably surprised in finding it possess a greater regularity of form than I had been led to suppose:—it was almost a perfect square, retaining its faces (excepting the south one) quite regular and perceptible. Its circuit (ten feet within the outer edge of the rubbish) was nine hun-

† Rennell, p. 359.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 360. The learned illustrator appears to me to have construed the meaning of Herodotus into a sense that can hardly be admitted.

dred paces, or, at two feet and a half per pace, 2,250 feet. I then paced the east and south faces at the top, and found the former one hundred and eighty, and the latter one hundred and ninety paces.† The south-west angle was by much the loftiest part of the whole. Major Rennell's modern authorities omit mentioning of what kind of materials they found the mound composed; but it appeared clear that the outer face or coating had been formed of red furnace-baked bricks cemented with lime and *sand; and the interior mass of sun-burnt ones, with layers of reeds and bitumen * 128 for their adhesion at every course.‡ What I form this opinion from is, that the foot of each of the faces is strewed with great quantities of the red bricks, and that on ascending to the top of the mound, and throughout the whole body of it, nothing but the clay sun-burnt brick is to be found.§ The bricks of this place are much larger, coarser, and thicker than the others that I had seen; they have no inscriptions on them, and on account of their softness are not in much request amongst the Arabs for building. I found the sides exactly in the same state as they are described by the older travellers who saw them many years since—very steep and rugged in some parts and moderately sloping in others, with deep ravines evidently formed by currents of rain—but could not discover any caverns in any part of this mound, notwithstanding a diligent search; nor do I agree with Della Valle that there are a number of smaller mounds of fifty and sixty paces large surrounding this mass. This assertion Rennell|| seems to seize with avidity, for the purpose of reconciling the present dimensions with those given in Herodotus's account of this tower, by adding the additional extent of space which those smaller heaps cover. When I thus deny the assertion of Della

† Medium, six hundred and sixty feet each face.

‡ M. Beauchamp found bitumen at every layer at Babylon.

§ "I remarked one mound that was very large and of a circular form, and which had round its base pieces of coloured tiles or bricks." *Cunningham's Journey to India*, 1785.

|| Rennell, p. 364.

Valle,† it may be expected that I should afford some probable evidence of my own observation being correct. All travellers who had ever visited this place, M. Beauchamp excepted, acknowledge they were obliged to do it in a very hurried manner, from shortness of time and a fear of the Arabs. On the contrary, I was not under the slightest apprehension of any mischief, nor was I pushed for time, being perfectly at my ease, and having full leisure to examine the whole of it, which I did with great attention; and on reading Major Rennell's remarks on this part of his account while seated on the top of the tower

* I surveyed the whole country in the vicinity, but could
 * 129 not perceive even a single hillock, or the least vestige of a mound except the one described just before, at the distance of about half a mile, and the double banks of a deep watercourse perpendicular to the bank of the river, and running parallel to the south-west face of the square. The height of the tower, if we may judge from the view of objects in the surrounding country, appears very great, as a man or horse seen from its summit is considerably diminished in appearance. This is the only place at which I found reeds and bitumen used as a cement (except at Aggurkeef, near Bagdad), where it is seen at the sixth, seventh, and eighth layer of bricks, but here at every course without the least variation. Beauchamp, who seems to have visited these ruins with greater security and frequency than any preceding or subsequent traveller, is in consequence more full, and in my opinion more correct, than Della Valle: he, however, mentions some things which I was unable, after a diligent search

† The Roman traveller Pietro della Valle seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province (Mesopotamia); he is a gentleman and a scholar, but intolerably vain and prolix." *Gibbon*, vol. iv., p. 178.

‡ "Della Valle's route," says Rennell, "must have led him across the whole extent of the eastern division of Babylon. Mr. Niebuhr and Mr. Otter did not indeed traverse the same ground, because they took the direct route from Hillah to Bagdad, which leads to the eastward of the ruins, but which, notwithstanding, crosses almost the whole site of Babylon between the supposed tower of Belus and the east front of the city wall." (p. 365.)

I must here be allowed to observe that the ruins of the mounds lie on the left, a short distance off the direct road from Hillah; and a traveller merely sees Belus's tower as he rides along, and must turn out of his way if he wishes to

to verify ; but he does not give the statement as the result of personal inspection, but as information received from the natives.

As to the other travellers who have visited this celebrated spot, it would be carrying complaisance too far to place implicit confidence on their relations, as they appear merely to have passed over the ground, and sometimes not even to have known that they were amidst the ruins until their guides told them it was Babel they were riding over.† They of course had no time * to examine the heaps of rubbish. Other travellers visited only one bank of the Euphrates, not caring to risk * 130 meeting with the Arabs while gratifying their curiosity on the other. From Belus's tower (which is four miles from Hillah in a direct line) there are no more mounds along the bank of the river for the distance of twelve miles above the tower, when you are shown a small heap of white and red furnace-baked bricks, called by the Arabs the Hummum or bath. I strongly suspect this to be the remains of a modern building, from the size, colour, and general appearance of the bricks, which in my opinion bear not the slightest resemblance to those I had previously seen. This spot, I should imagine, had not been visited by any traveller, as it lies at a great distance from the main road from Hillah to Bagdad : indeed no one mentions ever having seen it.

These are all the mounds, or ruins as they are called, of Babylon, that are generally shown to travellers under the general denomination of Babel. I, however, discovered, after much in-

examine it, which will occupy a longer time than travellers generally have leisure for, as appears from their own acknowledgments, not to notice their dread of being surprised by the wandering Arabs.

† "Approaching within a few miles of Hillah, on the east side of the Euphrates, and without any expectation of seeing the ruins of any city, my attention was arrested by the sight of long mounds of earth : my guides told me it was Maeloube ; but as I could speak little Arabic, and did not meet with any one at Hillah who could speak English, I knew not until I reached Bussora what place I had seen, and that it was unquestionably the site of ancient Babylon that I had passed over." *Cunningham's Journey to India, 1785* (amongst others).

"The Lord of Hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction."

"A land wherein no man dwelleth, neither does the son of man pass thereby."

quiry, that there were some heaps on the right bank, at the distance of some miles from Hillah, between the village of Karakoollee and the river. I accordingly rode to them, and perceived that for the space of about half a mile square the country was covered with fragments of different kinds of bricks, but none of them led me to conclude that they were of the same size and composition as those found either at Belus's tower or the mound mentioned to be situated between it and Hillah; I therefore returned, somewhat disappointed.

Having now gratified my curiosity in examining every mound or spot described either by Rennell, or pointed out by the natives as belonging to Babel, I next began to search for the remains of the ditch and city wall that had encompassed Babylon, which was the principal object of my journey, and still remained to be accomplished. Neither of these have been seen by any modern travellers, nor do they give any intimation that

*they had even looked for them. All my inquiries
 *131 amongst the Arabs on this subject completely failed in producing the smallest effect. Desirous, however, of verifying the conjectures of Major Rennell, I commenced my search first by riding five miles down the stream, and next by following the windings of the river sixteen miles to the northward from Hillah, on the eastern side of the river. The western I ranged exactly in the same manner, and discovered not the least appearance or trace of any deep excavation running in a line, or the remains of any rubbish or mounds that could possibly lead to a conclusion that either a ditch or wall had existed within the range of twenty-one miles. On the western bank, in returning home, I left the winding of the river and proceeded in a straight line from the village of Karakoollee, fifteen miles to the northward and westward of Hillah, to the latter place. The next day I rode in a perpendicular direction from the river at Belus's tower six miles east and as many west; so that within a space of twenty-one miles in length along the banks of the Euphrates, and twelve miles across it in breadth, I was unable to perceive anything that could admit of my imagining that either a wall or ditch had existed within this extensive

area.† This leads, however, only to this conclusion ;—that if any remains do exist, the walls must have been of greater circumference than is allowed by modern geographers. I may possibly have been deceived, but I spared no pains to prevent it ; I never was employed in riding and walking less than eight hours a day for six successive days, and upwards of twelve on the seventh.

Major Rennell quotes an assertion of Mr. Otter, who passed this way to Bagdad, to which I cannot assent :—it is that he saw a number of * ancient trees which might have been coeval with and belonging to those extraordinary pensile *132 or hanging gardens that were on the western bank of the river. I can only say that neither by presents to my guides nor by my own exertions could I succeed in discovering one single tree that was not of the ordinary kinds growing on the banks in every direction, except the one noticed in my first day's excursion.

That part of the Euphrates which lies between Karakoolce and Hillah, a distance of upwards of sixteen miles, winds extremely, and particularly where it passes Belus's tower, a quarter of a mile distant. Arguing from the well-established fact that streams on so soft a bottom and level a surface in the course of years change their beds, we may, without violating probability, presume that the Euphrates had anciently flowed between Belus's tower and the other large mound lying about three quarters of a mile to the west of it, mentioned in this account as the one with the walls of a large house still standing in it, and the decayed tree : for where the remains of

† Travellers have said that they saw long mounds in the neighbourhood. I must be allowed to observe that it is not difficult to be deceived in this respect, as some of the banks of the old watercourses are high, and might in a moment of hurry, or lassitude after the fatigue of a hot march, when the inclination and powers of inquiry are considerably blunted, make one imagine them to have been the remains of old walls :—for instance, behind that division of Hillah which is situated on the S.W. bank of the Euphrates, appears a large canal apparently parallel to the river, a couple of mounds of some height run perpendicularly down to it ; but the slightest inquiry and reflection satisfies one's mind on this head of their original intention.

the palace could have been situated, if not at this mound, I am at a loss to conjecture. But if we admit that the river may have changed its course from what it held in those ancient times, and that it now flows to the westward of both the palace and the tower, instead of passing between them as it is said to have done, the positions of the palace and tower are then exactly marked by these two mounds ; for, with the exception of Niebuhr's watchtower, mentioned in my first day's excursion, there is not a single mound on the western bank to be found, nor do the natives ever procure any bricks from that side, though the principal part of the town of Hillah is situated on it. If this conjecture be admissible, then the ancients and moderns agree in their accounts of this far-famed city with regard to the site of its two principal edifices ; but if it be rejected as improbable, we still remain as much in the dark as ever when we come to look for the remains of the palace. I shall, however, lay no stress upon what I have here advanced, but only offer it as a conjecture that struck me as probable, from the modern appearances of the river, ruins, and country in their vicinity at the time I was examining them.

* Having now enumerated every particular that appeared
 * 133 worthy of remark, I shall conclude with a few general observations upon the whole. It is needless, I should imagine, to press the subject any further relative to the extent of the walls of Babylon and the area that it covered, as no present remains furnish us with a single circumstance to side with either the ancients or moderns.

Della Valle and Beauchamp make the square of the tower of Belus from six hundred and forty to six hundred and sixty feet. I paced the circumference, and found the four faces amount to nine hundred paces, or 2,250 feet :—the slope as you descend the face is gradual, and generally easy. We might not have measured it exactly at the same place ; but the difference which appears between us is immaterial, as a lapse of two centuries may in all probability have occasioned considerable alterations. The altitude of the south-west angle, which is the loftiest part of the whole, is computed at two hundred feet. I had no means

of ascertaining the truth of this, but should imagine it is fully that height. Della Valle mentions two kinds of bricks, furnace-baked and sun-dried; and Beauchamp met with only the former. I saw both these, and another sort of deep red, apparently high-baked, the colour of an English brick. This latter is in greatest abundance at Niebuhr's watchtower, and generally has an inscription on it, but in a small character: I could not procure any of this kind whole, they were always in small pieces. The tower of Belus, the mound opposite to it, and the watchtower, had these two kinds used in their construction; but the large clay sun-dried brick was to be found only at Belus's tower, the whole interior body of which was composed of it;—and the employment of reeds and bitumen as a cement appears to have been but seldom introduced in other parts of the ruins, except at the one denominated the Tower of Belus, where it was universally seen as the cement for the sun-dried brick, and at every course; whereas at Aggurkeef, near Bagdad, which is certainly a Babylonish building, it is found at every sixth, seventh, and eighth course, though the same sort of brick is used in the building. The reeds and bitumen were evidently but seldom * used with the furnace-baked, which I observed most generally cemented with a thin *134 layer of lime and sand. The dimensions of the bricks were—clay sun-dried, four inches seven-tenths thick, seventeen inches and a half broad; furnace-baked, three inches thick, twelve inches broad, and generally weighed thirty-one pounds.

The Euphrates as far as Korna, which is one hundred and twenty miles from the head of the Persian Gulf, is navigable for vessels of three hundred tons, and from thence to Hillah boats not exceeding eighty can come up during six months in the year. Their construction is singular; they have one very large mast with a latteen sail; the body almost a half-moon, no keel, and a rudder of the most awkward shape: the hull is extremely ill-constructed, the ribs and planks being roughly nailed together, and the outside covered with bitumen. †When

† A naval friend of mine remarked of them, while at Bussora, that they were the buffalo of the ship kind. "We came to a place called Ait, near which there

they are going to Korna or Bussora from Hillah, they sail if the wind be fair, or float down the stream if it be foul. In returning or ascending the stream, they have one end of a long rope tied to the head of the mast, four or six men take hold of the other end, and by this means pull her against the current.†

It is curious to observe, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, how some local customs and usages continue in practice. The circular boats made of reeds and in the form of a shield, which attracted the notice of Herodotus so much, and which in his time were used on the river between Babylon and Armenia, differ hardly at all from those in use at the present * day, which perfectly agree with the description given by that venerable historian.‡ Another curious method of navigation exists in these times, which is noticed as early as the time of Xenophon.§ Merchants in Armenia, when embarking on the Tigris, collect a great number of goat-skins, which, having inflated, they fasten together, forming a kind of square raft : || these are from fifty to a hundred in number ;

is a continued eruption of smoke and boiling pitch, the torrents of which ran abroad into the neighbouring plain to a considerable distance. The Moors call it the Mouth of Hell ; but, for all that, they daub their boats with it two or three inches thick, and find it secures them admirably well from water." *R. Fitch's Travels to Ormus in 1583, Harris's Coll.*, p. 207. And again, another early modern traveller, " which substance serveth all the countries about to make staunch their barks and boats."—*Preacher's Travels, Churchill's Coll.*, p. 719.

† The above remarks suggested themselves to me on reading a note of Larcher upon Herodotus, in which he strongly doubts that the Euphrates can be navigated above Korna.

‡ Rennell says : " The same kind of embarkation is now in use in the lower parts of the river, under the same name of Kufah, viz. round vessel ; but they are most commonly made of osiers, and daubed over with bitumen, skins being seldom used, being much scarcer than formerly." (p. 205.) This kind of water conveyance is only used on the canals for ferries, as the current is too strong to admit of their going directly across the stream in the manner a boat would do ;—they are composed of nothing but osiers and bitumen, and are about seven feet diameter : I have seen them carry ten people across a large canal. The people at Bussora are also very partial to canoes, which are made in India, and taken up there by the trading dows for sale.

§ See *Anabasis*, bk. i., chap. v., sec. 10.

|| " There come good store of provisions hither (Felugia) down the river Tygris from Armenia, they being upon rafts made of goat skins blown full of

over them are placed mats, then the merchandize, and, upon the top of all, the owners and passengers. It is then set adrift, and floating down the stream it occasionally strikes against islands and shallow parts of the river, the bottom of which, being of a soft nature, seldom destroys the skins.†

The flowing of the tide at Korna is a singular sight;—it prevails against the stream of the Euphrates, but finds the current of the Tigris too powerful; and as you stand at the confluence of the two rivers, you see the flood tide flowing up the Euphrates on the one hand, and forced back by the strength of the Tigris on the other, forming by this contrary direction of two currents a violent eddy between them. The tides of the Persian Gulf are sensibly felt in the Euphrates twenty miles above Korna, or one hundred * and forty miles from the mouth of the river.‡ The depth of the *136 river at Hillah, from what I could collect from the natives, exceeds forty feet when nearly full: at the time I saw it, the surface of the stream was within three feet of the edge of the bank, and must, I should conceive, have been fully of that depth. It had arrived very nearly at its greatest height, this being the period of its annual swell.§ It is broader, but not

wind, and of boards laid over them, upon which their goods are laid: then, when they have unladed at Babylon, they open their skins, and carry them home packed-up upon camels, to serve another time."—*R. Fitch's Travels to Ormus in 1583, Harris's Coll.*, p. 207.

† "We went down the river Tygris to Bagdad, being carried not in boats, as down the Euphrates, but upon certain zatarra or rafts: they sell them at Bagdad for fire, and carry their skins again home upon asses by land."—*Preacher's Travels, Churchill's Coll.*, p. 748.

‡ Teixeira was told it was thirty feet deep at Mussoob, twenty miles above Babylon.—*Rennell's Geog. of Herod.* p. 373.

§ The breadth of the Euphrates at Hillah is variously reported, the average of which accounts would give two hundred and fifty yards: Niebuhr says one hundred and thirty; another modern authority four hundred yards, and Strabo one stadium, or two hundred and twenty yards. Rennell's idea (see note *Herod.*, *Clio*, p. 252) relative to the shelving of the banks of both the Euphrates and Tigris must be merely a conjecture; for these rivers are very perpendicular at their sides, and do not acquire any great breadth at the annual increase, but depth and rapidity. The Euphrates, which commences swelling in January,

so rapid as the Dija or Tigris; that part of it between Karakoollee and the mounds was very narrow, after which as it approaches Hillah it widens considerably, and close to the mound it forms a sudden bend, flowing almost between the tower of Belus and the large mound opposite to it, which appearance and formation induced me to hazard a conjecture that it might formerly have passed between them, instead of running to the westward of them both, as it now does. The inundations of the river do not tend to fertilize the land; the cultivation is carried on entirely by irrigation, the water being thrown up into a trough by means of a very simple machine constructed on the edge of the bank, and easily worked by one man; thence it is conducted through narrow channels to any part of the fields. The perpendicular mud pillars upon which the cross bar rests are about two feet in diameter, and the basket that takes up the water is of an oval form, three feet long by sixteen or eighteen inches broad, made of reeds and covered with bitumen.†

* On account of the decayed state of the watercourses, cultivation is confined to the banks of the river, and the few
 *137 canals that admit the water at the annual increase of the river:—thus that country, which has been considered the richest in the world, has more the appearance of a

and the Tigris much earlier, and is at its greatest height in the end of May, rises twelve perpendicular feet. Texeira and Sir H. Jones allow it as great a rise.

† “The machine which they use to spread the water of the Euphrates over the lands was called *tollens* in Latin: it is, I believe, that species of bascule (or swing-gate) which is still used in some of our provinces to draw the water of the wells and spread them into large troughs out of which cattle drink.”—*Larcher*. I am inclined to think this remark of the learned translator is formed without sufficient reflection;—the French bascule and Babylonian machine, as now in use amongst the Arabs, are not, however, equally adapted to draw water from wells, and the latter is inadequate to raise it from any depth. I cannot be confident that they are exactly the same, as Herodotus gives no further description of the ancient one than merely calling it an hydraulic engine. It is to be hoped it will not be thought very unreasonable to conclude that the modern and ancient engines differed but little, when we find the modern one so simple in its construction and well adapted to the purposes of irrigation.

desert, than of lands that had formerly yielded four hundred fold the industry of the husbandman.

It is worthy of remark that after leaving Korna, which is situated forty miles above Bussora, at the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, no date-trees are to be seen on the banks of the latter river, and that the sides of the former are lined with them up to Babylon, and even a very considerable distance above it.

Herodotus mentions, as I stated in the preceding part of this paper, that the palm-tree produced bread, wine, and honey. The date-fruit to the present day constitutes so essential a part of the food of the inhabitants, that it may, without any impropriety of either language or ideas, be esteemed the bread of the people; and from it also a fermented liquor is made, into which aniseed is put to give it a flavour. It is well known that the ancients were not very delicate with regard to the flavour of their wines, and that any fermented liquor passed under that denomination. The Babylonians, however, might have possessed the art of extracting the sap and making a liquor of it, or a wine as Herodotus would have called it, by fermentation, an art which the Arabs of the present day are unacquainted with:—besides, the introduction of the Mahomedans, and the influence of their religion, might in all probability have been the occasion of the practice

* being discontinued, and consequently forgotten and *138 lost. But it will prove a more difficult task to reconcile the circumstance of honey being procured from the palm; unless we imagine that the ancients, having nothing but honey to sweeten their cookery and beverages with, applied the name generally to all substances of a sweet nature, as we at the present day use the term sugar or saccharine for anything that has a sweet taste or resembles sugar: and to this day the Turks use the date sugar in many of their conserves. It is made of the rich juice of the date when fresh gathered, which exudes in consequence of the pressure of quantities of fruit being thrown together. Thus far may conjecture be hazarded. The sap, however, of the date-tree has been granulated by a medical gentleman in Bombay; but there exist very strong doubts

whether the chemists of the age of Alexander could have performed an operation of this nature.

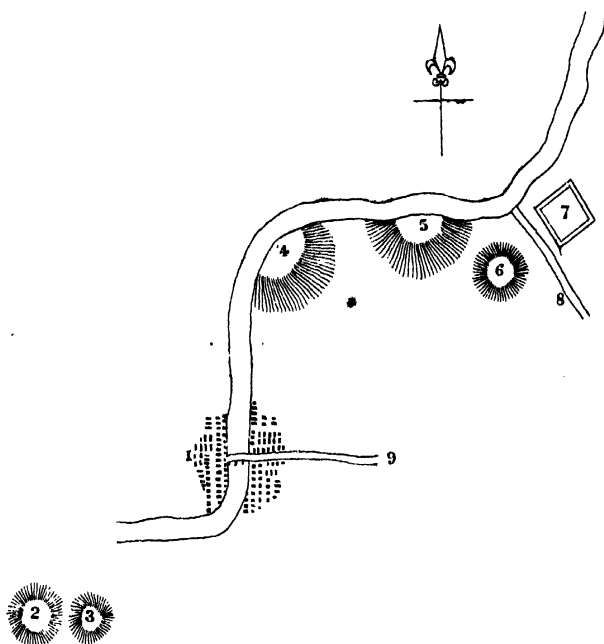
Hillah, which is in lat. $32^{\circ} 28' N.$, observed by Niebuhr,† and said to be built on the site of ancient Babylon, is a good-sized town, containing from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants, with the Euphrates flowing through the midst of it. The two divisions of the place communicate by means of a bridge of boats of a very rude construction, and connected with each other by a couple of large iron chains, and platforms of date-trees, mats, and mud. A great number of date-trees are interspersed amongst the buildings, which at a distance give it the appearance of a large town situated in the midst of a grove.‡

The road to it from Bagdad is good, and the surrounding country, as far as the eye can reach, perfectly flat, intersected with canals, which had been cut formerly across the Jezzerah from the Tigris to the Euphrates, but at present they can only be traced by their decayed banks.

The climate of this country is considered particularly clear, fine, and * healthy, though extremely hot from April to * 139 October; and the water of the Euphrates is held in almost as high estimation at the present day by the Arabs as that of the Choaspes (the modern Karoon) was regarded by the imperial lords of Ecbatana in ancient times.

† By Beauchamp $32^{\circ} 28'$; Orient. Geog. $32^{\circ} 31'$.

‡ "Opposite to Babylon stands a very fair village, from whence you pass to the town upon a long bridge of boats, which is held by a great iron chain fastened on either side the river."—*Fitch's Travels, Harris's Coll.*, p. 207.

Sketch of the Site of the Ruins of Babylon.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Town of Hillah. | 5. Second Mound. |
| 2. Niebuhr's Watchtower. | 6. Situation of the old Tree. |
| 3. Small Mound, 120 paces
distant from No. 2. | 7. Belus's Tower. |
| 4. First Mound. | 8. Watercourse. |
| | 9. Road to Bagdad. |

[NOTE.—Besides the authorities quoted under the title Babylon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. IV., p. 345, I would refer to Commander W. B. Selby's *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon* (1859); *Calcutta Review*, vol. XXI., pp. 443-46; vol. XXVI., p. 48; *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith, (1875); and the authorities cited at pp. 6-8 of that work.—Ed.]

* 140

* X.

ACCOUNT OF THE HILL-FORT OF CHAPANEER, IN GUZERAT.

By Captain WILLIAM MILES, of the Bombay Establishment.

Read by the Secretary on the 30th March 1812.

The following particulars regarding the famous fort of Chapaneer are the result of a visit to the place in 1803, along with Colonel Woodington's detachment. Having been left for some time after the taking of the place with a detachment in the city, the particulars are in general given from my own observation. I should not have deemed them worthy of the attention of this Society, had I not been particularly requested by several of the members to commit to paper such particulars regarding that celebrated place as had come within my notice.

Chapancer, or Pavanghudd, is a large mountain, or rather rock, rising out of the bosom of perhaps the most level of the provinces of India, Guzerat. It is distant about twenty-three or twenty-four miles north (forty-five) east of Baroda in a straight line, or about twenty-nine or thirty by the road; and except a few hillocks comparatively, which are scattered near its base, it stands alone, frowning over most of the south-eastern part of the province. The height, vaguely estimated may be 2,500 feet above the level of the plain. It would be dangerous to approach it nearer than the Guicowad territory for the purpose of measuring it accurately; indeed permission would not be granted. It is seen probably ten or fifteen miles south of Baroda: I infer this from the distinct and perfect view we have of every part of the hill at that city. It is visible from the minaret of the Juma Musjid of Ahmedabad, which is distant from it at least sixty miles. On some sides it appears nearly perpendicular. At the foot of it to the northward are the remains of an ancient city, the ruins of which extend several miles

* on each side of the mountain, but are at present covered with a jungle almost impenetrable :—houses, temples, * 141 beautiful tanks, and even mosques abound in these woods, and are now the abode of tigers and a few Bheels, the latter very thinly scattered. One night during the siege I marched round one side of the hill, I think the eastern ; and nearly the whole way, which was considerable, through ruined houses, temples—all of Hindu architecture—and the remains of the city destroyed by Mahmoud, the seventh, or, according to Abul Fazil, the sixth, king of Guzerat. On the opposite side to the one I mention, the ruins extend, in a like manner covered with jungle, to Hallol, formerly a suburb of Chapaneer, but now four miles from the modern city ;—these are mostly Mussulman domes, tanks, and mosques, the latter of great beauty, and some ornamented and floored with marble. A small space of an oblong figure is inclosed by a stone wall of good workmanship flanked with towers at intervals, and built by Sultan Mahmoud Guzerattee ; about half this is inhabited by a tribe of silk-weavers, who manufacture *keemkhabs*, &c. :—the water of this place is said to give great durability to the colour of these silks. I should not think the length within the walls more than three quarters of a mile, and the breadth perhaps three furlongs : however, I cannot depend on my memory at this distant period. A very thick jungle comes up to the walls on most sides. The number of inhabitants when I visited it did not exceed five hundred ; but the thinness of population was caused by apprehensions of danger from the siege, and almost all the people had evacuated the town before the troops took possession. From a Hindu friend of mine who was lately on a pilgrimage to Pavanghudd I learn that at present the town contains about four hundred houses, of which half may be inhabited : the inhabitants are chiefly fugitives from other cities in Guzerat.

The Bheels, who are almost the only inhabitants of that part of the province, speak, in my opinion, the purest Guzerattee, having but little intercourse with Mussulman Dekhanees, and they use scarcely any foreign words. The mountain immediately above is abundantly fortified, having two forts—the upper

one thought impregnable, and containing a famous Hindu temple of great antiquity, dedicated to the goddess Kalee * 142 or Kalla. * The defences of the lower fort on the hill are extensive. It is extremely difficult of approach, and contains some Hindu monuments of antiquity, and several good reservoirs of water, as does the other.

In the lower fort I recollected particularly a flight of stone steps with small apartments at intervals, I suppose for resting-places. They run down the side of a rocky precipice, and are each marked with a Sanskrit character, as ऋ, ॠ, &c. There are no other buildings in the forts (with the exception of Srikali's temple) but a kind of gateway, in which the officer stationed there lived. The hill is covered with fragments of rock so large that there can be no cultivation on it; besides there appears very little earth on the surface.

The fortifications are strong: indeed Nature wanted but little assistance to place it, with a good garrison, out of danger from the effort of any native force. At present it is occupied by not more than two hundred and fifty or three hundred men.

Pavanghudd is certainly a modern name; for historians call both the city and forts Chapaneer. The former is said to be derived from *Pavan*, the name of the Hindu deity who presides over the winds, and *ghudd* or *ghurr*, a fort,—seemingly called so from the loftiness of its situation. There are some other derivations, but they are too fanciful to merit notice.

The history of Chapaneer before the introduction of the Mahomedan religion into Hindostan is, like almost all Hindu history and tradition, very fabulous, and, although curious and perhaps entertaining, is not deserving serious mention. All that can be clearly ascertained is that it exceeded greatly its present size, and was the seat of the government of a powerful Rajpootre tribe, the last raja of which was Putty Rawull. Some descendants from his family are said still to be in existence in Guzerat. This man, however extensive his possessions before might have been, was reduced to his capital by Mahmoud, the seventh king of Western Guzerat, who besieged him in it (say both Hindus and Moslems) twelve years; partially I judge:

but it is not difficult to conceive this possible, considering the present state of military knowledge among the natives.

The tradition is, that Mahmoud's armies took this and Joonaghudd, another hill-fort in Kattywar, on the * 143 same day; and that therefore he is called by the Guzerattees Mahmoud Be-Ghudde or Be-Ghurree, *i.e.* of the two forts;—the reality, however, seems to be that twelve years intervened between the taking of these two forts, Joonaghudd being taken A.H. 877, and Chapaneer in 889. The Raja Potty Rawull was killed, his city destroyed, and a small portion surrounded with the stone wall before mentioned.

The city and fort remained in the possession of the Guzeratee sovereigns between seventy and eighty years, until Humaïoun, emperor of Delhi, defeated Bahadur king of Guzerat at Mundehsoor, a city in Malwa, from which place the latter fled to Mundu, and thence to Cambay: Humaïoun following him close, he sailed to Diu, where he was shortly after treacherously drowned by the Portuguese, from whom he went to ask assistance. The infamy of this transaction is perpetuated by the date which is contained in the words فرنگیان بهادر کشی *The Portuguese murderers of Bahadur*.—The following detail of the siege and capture of Chapaneer the second time is translated from the works of that excellent historian and philosopher Aboul Fazil:—

“In the year 941 of the Hejree (1528 of the Christian era), after Bahadur had been defeated at Mundehsoor, he retired to Mundu, where he offered Humaïoun the cession of Malwa as the price of peace. Not attending to this, the Moghul emperor stormed Mundu; and Bahadur, after giving great proofs of his personal bravery, escaped. The Moghuls remained a few days at Mundu to plunder, كما بدخلوا ائيمها, and then advancing, took Songhudd and besieged Chapaneer. The governor at that time was Ikhtear Khan, the son of the Quazee of Neriad, a man of superior abilities and learning, in whom Bahadur placed the greatest confidence, and who really deserved it, as he defended the fort with great constancy and valour. Humaïoun left his army besieging Chapaneer, and pursued Bahadur to

Cambay accompanied by only one thousand horse: the king of Guzerat had before retired to the Portuguese settlement of Din. The Coolies and Bheels, however, in the neighbourhood of *Cambay remained honourably staunch to the interest *144 of their old master, and one night attacked Humaïoun's small party with such success that they took both his library and baggage: the former appears to have been very valuable. In revenge he burned Cambay, and then returned to Chapaneer, where the siege was carried on with vigour, but with little effect for some months. During this period, all the care and caution of the besiegers could not prevent the people of the surrounding country, allured by great profit, from supplying the garrison with provisions. Screened by the thickness of the jungle, and being acquainted with the ravines leading to the foot of the mountain, they made paths where it was scarcely thought possible men could penetrate, and the garrison, letting down ropes with money to them, hauled up in return provisions of all kinds carried thither for sale.

"The siege had thus been protracted to a considerable length, when the emperor determined on examining the environs of the fortress himself, in order to find some place easy of ascent by which his troops might storm. With this view riding one day near Hallol (a village three or four miles from Chapaneer), then a garden, he observed a number of the Guzerattees, who supplied the garrison as before mentioned, quitting the jungle which extends in that direction. Their appearance being suspicious, he directed that they should be pursued and apprehended. When taken, they pretended that they were woodcutters; but, not having the tools with them necessary for such an occupation, as hatchets, saws, &c., Humaïoun would not believe them, and threatened, if they did not forthwith declare the truth, they should instantly be put to death. Terrified at this, they confessed what they had been doing. Humaïoun immediately made guides of them, and repaired to the place they had just before quitted.

"The rock there was fifty or sixty yards high, and nearly perpendicular. It appeared indeed impossible to surmount;

but the emperor thought otherwise, and ordered a number of iron pegs to be brought and driven into the rock at the distance of two or three feet to the right and left, and a party of his brave companions ascended this ladder; Abul Fazil calls it (something like) *The test of valour*. Thirty-nine only had proceeded * when the emperor essayed to mount: Beirem * 145 Khan, an Ameer and tried friend of his, begged him to wait at least until the passage to the top was cleared, and ascended to effect it; but Humaïoun could not be retained, and followed directly after him. The thirty-nine soldiers who had attained the summit assisted others to mount so effectually that their number soon increased to three hundred. At this time Humaïoun judiciously ordered the besiegers on the other side to make a general assault; and the garrison, not apprehending any danger from the rear, turned the whole of their force to repel it, leaving the fort nearly empty.

“The emperor and his three hundred now rushed into it, vacant as it was, and cut off their retreat. Astonished and pressed at the same time both in front and rear, the brave unfortunate garrison fell an easy prey to the conquering Moghul.

“Ikhtear Khan, the commandant, retired to the upper fort, which is called Molebeh or Moleehè, but capitulated on the second day. Being an able mathematician and poet, he was received very graciously by Humaïoun, who patronized literature.”

Abou'l Fazil moreover says, that an ingenious man found the date of this conquest in the following words, *اول ہفتہ مہ صفر* that is, “*The first week in the month of Suffer*.” The numerical powers of the letters amount to 942; thus making out very satisfactorily the week, month, and year of its capture. On the decline of the Moghul empire, Chapaneer fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, who always considered it a place of the greatest consequence, and therefore kept a strong garrison in it. The killadar's situation is profitable, as he makes a large sum yearly by taxing the pilgrims, who are very numerous, and come from all parts of Guzerat and Malwa to visit the shrine of the god-

dess Kalee. It was lastly taken from Scindia in the year 1803 by a small detachment of the Bombay army under Colonel Woodington, and on the peace in the commencement of 1804 was returned to Scindia, with whom it now remains.

[NOTE.—This place is the same as Champánera or Pavanagaḍa. It is mentioned at p. 187, vol. IX. of the Asiatic Researches as Champánagara, or a town built by Champa. A complete account of the fort of Champánera or Pavanagaḍa is given in chapter VI. of A. K. Forbes's *Ras Málá*, vol. I., to which I would refer. See also Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. IV., pp. 64-74.—ED.]

THE FIFTH SERMON OF SADI,

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

By JAMES ROSS, Esq., of the Bengal Medical Establishment.†

Al Mejles-al-Khames, or the Fifth Sermon.

PRESERVE us, O Lord, from all manner of sin, and vouchsafe us the grace of obedience and devotion. O God of both worlds and Lord of all, we crave thy forgiveness; and to thee we are to return.

Dearly beloved! The creatures of this earth are of a two-fold nature—either occupied with God or taken up with self. Such as are employed with God feel no interest about themselves, and such as are busy with themselves think not of God; but whatever may debase them is downright deception, whether it be spiritual or temporal:—till purified from this, thou never canst encircle the temple of the Most High. *Parable*:—Before the prince of the resigned Baeizced Bastamy one presented himself and said, O shaikh, my whole life hath been spent in seeking after the Lord; how often did I on foot make the pilgrimage of the Desert! how many infidels' heads did I strike off in the holy wars, and how much hath my heart wallowed in its own blood! But I have not attained the object of my wish, and the more forward I am pushing the less near I am approaching. Can you advise any mode by which I may arrive at it? The shaikh answered, Brave youth, this world is exactly a space of two steps, *one of which leads to man- * 147 kind, and the other to God; fall back one step from the

† It is believed that no specimen of the pulpit eloquence of the Mahomedans has ever been presented to the world in an European dress. The following Sermon is translated from a collection that exists in the works of the celebrated Sadi. It may be regarded as a curious example of the mode of religious teaching that prevails among the theological instructors of one of the most extended religions in the world. The ideas of Sadi, it must be observed, lean considerably towards those of the mystical sect of Sûfis.—*Note by the Secretary.*

creature and you will arrive at the Creator. Whilst constantly occupied, and saying What shall I eat that I may gratify my appetite? and What shall I say that mankind may be pleased with me? you never can attain a true knowledge of the Deity. Brave youth, any traffic you keep up with mankind tends to your loss; deal with God, that all may be profit. The Most High hath said, O helpless being, with you I am dealing in tears and in fears,—the tears of supplication and the fears of rejection: the treasure of felicity snatch from the presence of my glory. Those drops which stream down your face are called tears, and those fears which heave from your bosom are called remorse:—let tears fall from my eyes inasmuch as I did not inform myself of God, and let remorse canker in my heart inasmuch as I did what was forbidden. Through the tears of the soul you are brought to repentance, and through the remorse of your heart to promise amendment:—a sense of amendment leadeth to resolution, resolution to enthusiasm, and enthusiasm to an union with the divine presence, when from his universal benevolence will issue the word Mercy. The heart confesseth, I have done wrong; the head crieth, I repent me of what I did; and the Lord saith, I have forgiven it. Brave youth, fire is two-fold—a fire of good and a fire of what is wicked; and there is no fire else. The fire of the appetite the rain of heaven can quench, and the fire of sin the water of the eye can subdue; also the fire of sin two things can extinguish, and those are dust and water, the dust of humiliation and the water of contrition:—the dust of humiliation is prostrate adoration, and the water of contrition is our dread of a loving and affectionate master. Brave youth, every eye that crieth not from a fear of the Lord, its tears owe him a debt; and every heart which yearneth not to embrace God, that heart is a bankrupt. A sage called aloud and said, O alas! that the creatures of this world should be journeying through it, and not select this the sweetest of its gifts. He was asked what gift this was. He answered, The smallest mark of true affection, as the Most High is pleased to say; then will ye most truly worship the Deity when ye shall bring with you a sincere love. Had

the poor devotee selected but one small portion of true * 148 affection, he might equally have disregarded things spiritual and temporal, this world and the next, or what was unlawful and forbidden. *Parable* :—The son of Khafeef was asked what true affection was. He answered, True affection is a state of bankruptcy ! It is ruined circumstances, helplessness, misery and want ! Dearly beloved ! if thou hast not the blooming cheek of charmers, it behoves thee to present the yellow tint of lovers ; if thou canst not show the fascinating beauty of Joseph, it becomes thee to display the plaintive wretchedness of Jacob ; if thou canst not plead the helpless state of the supplicant, it were decent that thou madest the lamentable moan of the indigent. The prince of both worlds, glory of the sons of man (on whom and his be salutation and peace !) has said, No voice is more acceptable before God than the petition of the indigent ; no supplication is more graciously received at the tribunal full of glory than the desire of the needy sinner, who in his distress, penury, and wretchedness setteth forth his lamentation and saith, O Lord, I have done an act of sin and a tyranny against my own soul. From the sublime presence a voice descendeth, saying, That deed which thou didst not of thyself exact, me thou wilt entreat, and on thy account I will give my assent :—me thou wilt crave that I may give my leave : whatever thou mayest want thou wilt ask of me ; trust thy concerns to my accomplishment, for I am the Deity, I am what I am without why or wherefore ; in sovereignty paramount, faithful to my promise, ratifying every petition, listening to all praise, and meriting every encomium. A hundred thousand household establishments have been squandered in quest of me ; a hundred thousand bodies have melted away in the mortification of seeking after me ; a hundred thousand holy souls are gone distracted in the wilderness of my affection ; a hundred thousand pilgrims beat their heads upon the stone of tribulation at the temple of my glory ; and a hundred thousand of such as court my illustrious presence burn in the crucible of austere penance. The ninth heaven asketh the divine throne, O thou ! hast thou any intimation of him ? and the throne answers

the ninth heaven, And dost thou understand anything that concerneth him? When the inhabitants of this earth * 149 * have a supplication to make, they turn their faces up to heaven, hoping that the sky may relieve the pain of their hearts; and the community of the sky, when they have a prayer to prefer, cast their eyes upon the earth, expecting that thence they will find the cure of their affliction. Every day at even, when the orb of light goeth down, the angels that attend him say, O sun! hast thou to-day shone upon any one who hath a knowledge of Him? The sun maketh answer, Would to God I could know who that person were, that I might render the dust of his feet the sphere of my orbit! Yes! brave youth, what likeness has dust (*i. e.* man) with the Lord of lords? what business have gross earth and water with the pure essence of the Deity? How can nonentity mingle with eternity? What communication can the savage and ignorant hold with the godly and intelligent? Most wonderful of works! The pious say in their prayers, Do not, O God! separate us from ourselves. Alas! short-sighted mortal, with whom could I mingle that I should separate, or from whom could I be cut off that I should mingle? how entertain a hope of meeting while there might remain a fear of separation? or how could there be a dread of separation while there exists a hope of meeting? There is neither communication nor separation, neither nearness nor distance, neither expectancy nor despair, neither the faculty of speech nor the ability of silence, neither the face of going on nor the resolution of returning, neither the idea of forbearance nor sentiment of impatience, neither place to which the fancy can soar, nor time on which the imagination can fix. In the hands of philosophers there is nought but discussion: in the midst of divines there is nought but animadversion. If thou journeyest to the Cabeh, there thou seest a stone; if thou enterest a Musjid there meetest thou a wall; if thou lookest upon the people of this earth, thou beholdest nought but misery; if thou contemplatest the sky, thou meditatest on what must stupefy: the giddiness of the brain is sheer melancholy, and the fumes of the head downright insanity.

From the sunshine of day there is noontide fervour; from the gloominess of night, terror and dismay; from the unity of unitarians there is only ornament and glory; from the blasphemy of infidels hideous infamy; from Moses the preacher no profit; from Pha*raoh the pretender no *150, loss;—if thou comest, enter, for there is no porter: if thou art going, depart, for there is no keeper. *Parable*:—The prince of the zealous, Ibrahim Khawas, was repeatedly remarking to his disciples, Would I were the dust of the footsteps of that veiled object! They asked him and said, O sage, thou art always making panegyrics in his praise, why not direct us to the place of his abode? He replied, On a certain occasion I found myself fervently inclined, and turning my face towards the wilderness walked on in an ecstacy of enthusiasm. Arriving at length in the territory of the infidels, I beheld a citadel with three hundred and odd heads suspended from its turrets. Astonished at what I saw, I asked what these meant, and who was the lord of this citadel? They answered, It belongs to such a prince, whose daughter is gone mad. It came into my head to undertake the cure of this damsel. On entering the castle they presented me to its lord. He received me with much magnificence and attention, and asked, O generous youth! what brought thee into this place? I answered, I understood that thou hast a daughter who is gone mad; I am come to administer unto her. He turned to me and said, Behold the turrets of this citadel. I answered, I have beheld them, and have entered nevertheless. Then he said, Those are the heads of such as have prescribed different medicines but were disappointed in curing her. Thou also must take warning that if thou failest in thy attempt thy head will take its place among the rest. After this he desired that I should be introduced to the young lady. No sooner had I put my foot over the threshold of her apartment, than she called to her handmaid and said, Bring hither my veil that I may cover my head. The handmaid answered, How many physicians, O lady, did visit thee, and thou never yet yeildedst thyself before any of them? How comes it to pass that thou coverest thyself before this man? She said

Those were not men full of faith, as this man is who now approacheth. Then I said, *As salaamu alaicum*, Peace be with thee! She replied, *Alaicumas salaamu*, With thee be peace, O son of Khowas! I asked, How camest thou to know that I am the son of Khowas? She answered, He that directed thee to me inspired me with the faculty of know-
 * 151 * ing thee. Art thou not aware that one true believer is the mirror of his brother? when a glass is void of tarnish it will reflect any image. O son of Khowas, I hold a heart wrung with anguish; hast thou any potion that might administer to its comfort? This text ran spontaneously from my tongue: Such as are steadfast believers and resolute in commemorating the Deity, can it be otherwise than that their hearts must feel fortified in the praises of God? On hearing this verse she sighed aloud and fell senseless to the ground. On coming to herself, I said, O damsel! rise, that I may conduct thee into the temple of salvation. She replied, O sage! what is there in the temple of salvation that is not present here? I said, There is the Cabeh, illustrious and venerable. She replied, O shallow man, wert thou to behold the Cabeh wouldst thou recognize it? I said, Yea verily! She said, Look above my head. When I looked, behold! I saw the Cabeh whirled around it. She added; O soft-hearted man! didst thou not heretofore understand that he who travels to the Cabeh on foot makes the circuit of the Cabeh; but he who makes the pilgrimage of the Cabeh in his heart is encircled by the Cabeh? Verily I say, wheresoever you may bring the face of true faith, there thou wilt meet the face of God! Brave youth! between thee and the Deity there is but one step of road. Knowest thou how? shall I tell thee? Confess a forgetfulness of thine own existence, and in confidence of the divine beneficence lay thy arms across the breast in meditation. *Any one who approached me a span, I neared him a yard; and any one who came towards me a yard, I closed him, on my side, the stretch of a horse.* His beneficence hath brought thee near to thyself, inasmuch as into thy heart a gem hath been set; and by this is implied; *I blew into that (i. e. man) a portion of my Holy*

Spirit. The moral of which is, that a bird (*i. e.* man's heart) was transfixt with an arrow (*i. e.* by God): after a while it looked around and incontinently said to the arrow, How camest thou to reach me? It replied, There is a chain of concatenation between thee and me, which links us together; thou art that which didst bring me to a knowledge of myself, for this tie thou didst bind upon my heart: I knew my God because of my God; and had not my God been, I could not have known * him. Ho it was that hath made thee acquainted with * 152 thyself; the key of the house of knowledge he hath delivered unto thee. The expositor of worldly intellect hath said, Whosoever hath attained to a knowledge of his own nature hath surely arrived at a comprehension of his Maker. Whenever that thou comprehendedst thyself, thou didst comprehend the Deity; thou it is that art the key of thyself, for with that key thou wilt know him. That, moreover, is a diversified knowledge, or a knowledge of contrarieties: if thou didst know thyself with weakness, thou knowest him with strength: if thou didst view thyself with imbecility, thou sawest him with vigour: this is one of the diversities, and a road which is open to anybody. Another diversity is, that thou knowest that in thy body there is a soul, which is present in every member of the body, and the Creator of the universe exists in all time and space: nevertheless, like as the soul cannot be presented on the salver of request, if thou specify it to be in the hand, foot, or head, it is in all those members, yet may not be arrested in any of them; so the Lord God of all hath his presence universal, yet he is not subject to our special call. The Deity they have not encompassed with a measure any-ways compatible with his magnitude. Brave youth! the zealous and devout pass by the stages, and are getting to their journey's end; but the metaphysically learned do not accomplish one stage. Nay, their journey is the circle of confusion; whatever progress they are making, it is not in a forward direction: the first is the merchant's camel, which night and day is jogging on his stages and making good his way; but the second is the oilman's bullock, which all the day is pacing round in a circle with his eyes blindfolded, and

while he is considering with himself, Let me see how many stages have I passed by, behold ! on removing his bandage at the time of evening prayer he finds himself just where he set out. If thou sayest I comprehended him, they will ask, How didst thou comprehend him with whom thou hadst no manner of connexion ? If thou sayest, I comprehended him in my own existence ; they will answer, A two-fold existence were incompatible, and duality is downright plurality or giving companions to the Deity. If thou sayest, I comprehended him in my own * 153 nonentity, * they will answer, What can nonentity know of entity ? *To be weak in divine intelligence is the right way to get at true knowledge.* How is a short-sighted moth able to contemplate the sun ? A hundred thousand souls, alas ! are the devoted slaves of the shoe-dust of that Derwish (God) ! Hear what he hath himself said : Take not the field of the heroes of the faith ; for there, instead of water, blood is current. *Parable* :—After he was dead Janced was seen in a dream. It was asked him, What reception didst thou meet with God ? He answered, Vain were my devotionary services, and unprofitable my performance of every ritual, save two genuflexions which I performed at midnight. All my devotion was waste breath and availed me nought, except two prayers which I repeated at the gloomy hour of midnight. Bravo youth ! be zealous and vigilant, that when the angel of death may involve thee in his shadow, thou hast the garment of Devotion to wrap round thee ; lest on such an occasion, as when eyes shall be streaming and hearts burning ; when Satan shall inspect the faithful with a greedy eye, and the vindictive javelin of Death be aimed indiscriminately into every bosom, then must either the sweet scent of selection or offensive odour of rejection assail us individually : if the grateful perfume of affection and good-will, then shalt thou listen to this happy annunciation : God hath said, Be not uneasy or dejected at heart, but give ear to the joyful tidings of Paradise, such as have been announced to you. But—what God forbid !—should the noxious vapour of rejection and ill-will be thy lot, the sign of desperation will be seared upon thy forehead. This day, alas ! there is no happy news for the ini-

quitous. Many there are who have worn the garments of the chosen, whose names have been recorded in the register of rejection; but to them it was not known; and many who have put on the robes of rejection have been numbered amongst the elect; but this they know not. *Parable*:—It is related that among the children of Israel there was a holy man of the name of Barsisa, who for forty years had lived apart from mankind and their vanities, and detached from the world and its lusts. His whole life had passed in counting his beads and in acts of holiness, and in supplication and entreaty with the Deity. The appetite of inordinate *desire he had eradicated * 154 with the knife of self-denial, and the seed of divine fervour he had sown in the field of true knowledge. Couldst thou soar so high as to see into the ninth heaven, or dive so deep into the earth as to bring into view the fish and cow, he commanded such probity, grace, and good works as would weary any tongue to detail them, and possessed such praiseworthy and excellent qualifications as would perplex the imagination or fancy to unravel them. And every year thousands of the distempered and infirm, the sick and ailing, would collect in the plain round his cell; some of them covered with the leprosy, some blind from their mother's womb, some labouring under hectic fever and the dropsy, and some martyrs to the jaundice. All of them they would collect and lay close to his cell; and when the orb of the sun would show himself in the East, and display upon the world the streamers of his glory, Barsisa would appear upon the terrace of his cell, and blowing the breath of restoration over those wretched sufferers, they would all be forthwith cured of their maladies. Most wonderful event! that, apparently, he had thrown open to him the gate of such treasured affection, and yet the arrow of his execution had been fixed on the bow of separation; that to the outward sight of mankind he should seem a lovely picture, and yet in secret was a corse mangled with the sword of rejection. To the eye, alas! he seemed pure as virgin silver, yet hiddenly he was debased with alloy. In the pride of his heart that wretch would say, Verily, who am I? and strutting abroad would

vauntingly exclaim, Do I not do credit to the Deity? Not in the mean time aware that from the tablet and pen of the recording angel an annunciation had descended, saying, In my sight thou meetest not approbation. In process of time the Devil underhand laid beneath the floor of his cell a chain of temptation and train of machination, in order that on some unpropitious occasion the thorn of ill-luck might, through intention or mistake, get entangled in the skirt of his garment. Day after day the rage and indignation of the Devil were more and more inflamed against him, and the grove of the piety and resignation of the holy man became more blossoming and smiling; till at length that the daughter of the reigning king fell ill of a dangerous distemper, such as *155 *the whole body of the faculty despaired of curing.

And this damsel had three brothers, each of whom was the governor of a distant province; and in one night all the three dreamt that it behoved them to report the illness of their sister to Barsisa. Next day they communicated their dreams to each other; and as their accounts tallied in every circumstance, each exclaimed to himself, It is mine to a tittle! Accordingly they met at the capital, and took their beautiful sister to the cell of the holy man. Barsisa at that time was at prayers. When he had done, they craved his assistance to their sister, and detailed to him their respective dreams. Barsisa said, For prayer there is an appointed hour, when God is gracious to my supplication; at that stated time I shall not be wanting in my solicitation. Then did the brothers recommend their sister to his care, and betake themselves to the sports of the field. When the Devil full of guile saw that they were gone, he said, Now is that opportunity come when I can plunge the soul and righteousness of Barsisa's prolonged period of sanctity and devotion into the tempestuous ocean of lust and sin. Accordingly he blew the breath of stupefaction upon the brain of that veiled virgin, so that she staggered and fell senseless unto the floor, and the holy man's eye caught a glimpse of her charms. The Devil laid the fuel of temptation on the fire of passion, and the flame of sensuality burnt fierce throughout the holy man's body. Moreover the hand of impetuosity and

lust drew the mask of assurance and neglect over his mind and heart, till he fell the victim of carnal prostitution ; and the temptation of the Devil having full play, the crime of fornication soon contaminated his body. At that instant of time the Devil appeared by the altar of his cell in the figure of an old man, and asked what had befallen him. Barsisa related what had passed. The Devil said, O Barsisa ! be of good cheer, for sin is natural to man, and God on high is merciful, and the door of repentance is open : however, for the present, it were wise to keep this affair a secret from her brothers. Barsisa answered, Alas ! O alas ! how can we daub the orbit of the sun over with clay, or hide the glorious face of day from such as have eyes to see ? The Devil said, That, Barsisa, is a very easy matter, as I can show thee. Let the damsel be slain, and her body buried under ground : * when her brothers return * 156 and inquire after her, you can tell them, I was praying at the time when she went out of my sight, and I know not what became of her. Just as the Devil advised him, Barsisa murdered the damsel, and carrying her body outside the cell, buried it. Soon after, the damsel's brothers returned with their train from hunting, and conceived that they had only to ask the hermit's blessing and take their sister away cured. But, not meeting her ready to attend them, they questioned the hermit about her. Exactly as the Devil had instructed him, he answered them ; and, believing of course what so sanctified a man said, they took his blessing and their leave of his cell. They were proceeding towards the city, and expecting to overtake their sister by the way, when in the mean time the Devil, full of guile, having transformed himself into an old and decrepit woman with a staff in her hand and kerchief round her head, met them on the road. They questioned her and said, Good woman ! did you see a lady of such a form and figure ? She replied, Peradventure you are inquiring after the daughter of the reigning king. They said, The very same. The old woman fell a-weeping and sobbed aloud. The princes began to suspect that all was not right. They observed, O dame ! be circumspect in relating all that thou knowest ; for our minds mightily misgive us, from what we have already heard. The woman opened her mouth

and said, That personage whom you escorted from the city the hermit defiled, and having after that committed murder on her body he buried it behind his altar. Then, taking them along with her, she proceeded to the grave of their sister, which they dug up, and found the body still weltering in its blood. They rent the garments from their bodies, and in the grief of so horrible an event threw ashes on their heads. After which, they put a halter round Barsisa's neck, and took him with them into the city; while the crowd gathered from all sides expressing their surprise at such a circumstance having come to pass. Then they caused a gibbet to be erected, and brought Barsisa under it: and whatever intercession the holy men of the city could make to get him delivered from punishment, the solicitation of his friends was not listened to by the brothers of the damsel, for they hung him on the gallows in the most ignominious manner. And such as would before that consider it a blessing to catch the water of his ablutions, and use it with the same precious care as they would rose-water, and would esteem the dust of his shoes as a collyrium to be applied to their eyes, were every one collecting and filling the skirts of their garments with stones, that they might hurl them upon him with execrations. In this state of things the Devil made his appearance in the front of the gallows, under the figure of an old man with rays of glory round his head, and said, O Barsisa! I am the God of this earth, and that is the God of Heaven whom thou hast served for such a length of years, and who hath permitted thee to fall so low, that in recompense for such long and faithful obedience thou art making thy exit from a gallows:—make me but one sign of adoration, that I may deliver thee from thy present infamy. Barsisa paid obeisance to the accursed Devil by making a sign with his brow. A voice came down from the seventh heaven, saying, Perished as this man is in this world and the next, let him be utterly cut off; let his soul sink to Hell, his carcase be thrown to the dogs, and his brain become the portion of the fowls of the air.†—Brave youth! this is such a mystery as hath

† It is unnecessary to remark that this is the original of the story of Santon Barsisa told in the 148th number of *The Guardian*.

been concealed from the servants of God ; nor can any comprehend it. The prophet David said, O Lord ! let thy secret be divulged to me, that I may have knowledge ; for great is my apprehension, and much my confusion. Night and day he was repeating this and crying, when a voice was heard to say, O David ! wert thou to weep to that degree that the tears might penetrate into the hardest flint, I would not interpret this mystery unto thee. O David ! expect not in this life to understand this secret of me, till, along with the approach of death, it shall be revealed unto thee.—David asked, When, O my God ! wilt thou be pleased to reveal it ? The voice answered, My mystery with my servants is comprehended in two words, and these negatives ;—either I declare ye have nought to fear, or I affirm ye have nought to hope. A voice will either come from the right, saying, Do not despair ; or break upon the left, crying, Hope no more. From an *anxious apprehen- 158* sion of those two negatives, at the hour of death no man can retain any colour in his cheek. When the soul knocketh at the breast, the colour is fading and the heart full of woe ; and it looketh with anxiety to the right and to the left, to ascertain from which side the sentence may approach. Eternal happiness or everlasting misery is visible in this last agony : moreover, it might be proper that the fortunate should be unhappy, and the happy unfortunate. God is cancelling that which it pleaseth him, and other things he is confirming, and near by him lieth the eternal register. The book of fate lieth by my side, I record and I blot out ; but no intimation am I giving what it is that I record, or what I blot out : and I hold counsel with no one. And if God so chooseth that the last tribunal shall be held, he will assuredly hold it ; and it is the Lord who revealeth to such as are directing us in the ways of salvation. Here endeth the fifth Sermon, through the blessing of God and his gracious favour.

O vain boast ! who can control his fate ?

[NOTE.—The whole of the Gulistan (or Flower-garden) of Shekh Sâdi has since been translated by Major R. P. Anderson (Calcutta, 1861), by James Ross, the writer of the above paper (London, 1823), and by E. B. Eastwick, C.B., and other authors, to whose works I beg to refer.—ED.]

* 159

* XII.

ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND MANNERS
OF THE RACE OF MEN CALLED BUNJARAS.

By Captain JOHN BRIGGS, Persian Interpreter to the Hyderabad
Subsidiary Force.

Read 25th January 1814.†

TO WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq., Bombay.

MY DEAR SIR,

Jalna, 8th December 1813.

It is a considerable time since you first suggested to me the research into the history of that race of people in the Deccan denominated Bunjaras. At that period I made a rough sketch of some of the most prominent features of their character, and, having traced a faint outline of what I conceived would be new and interesting, sent it down to you, rather to show the nature of this people, and what was to be expected from its traditions, than to exhibit anything final or conclusive regarding them. Since that, I have been enabled to add something to my former paper; and although the present is still far from being a satisfactory account, yet it embraces all that I have been able to procure concerning them in my insulated and obscure station: if, however, it be considered worthy of a place among the papers of the Bombay Literary Society, you are at liberty to publish it with all its imperfections on its head.

The peninsula of India, commonly called Deccan, whose northern boundary is marked by the rivers Nerbudda and Mahanudda, forms nearly an equilateral triangle of about eight hundred miles' base. This vast tract of territory (previously to

* This paper was, originally read on the 25th May 1812, and afterwards in its present state on the 25th January 1814.

the Mahomedan invasion in the fourteenth century) was divided among the Hindoos into five nations, each * 160 of which had probably a separate monarch; but their manners, habits, dress, and language, which they have retained till the present time, were certainly distinct from each other. These were—the Murhuttas of Murhutt, the Tellingas of Telling, the Cunnuras of Cunnur, the Goonds of Goondwara, the Tamoolas of Tamool.

Each of these peoples was divided from its neighbour either by broad rivers, thick forests, or stupendous mountains; but still these limits were not always of an insurmountable nature: for we find, from the earliest periods of which we have any satisfactory accounts, that they not only had mutual intercourse with each other by means of commerce, but that their sovereigns frequently united their forces to repel the attacks of foreign enemies.

The spices, salt, and fish of that part of Tamool called Malebar, furnished supplies to Cunnur, which returned either the gold of its mountains, the manufactures of its looms, or its surplus grain. Cunnur procured also articles from its neighbours of Murhutt and Telling—coarse cloth, cotton, and silks from the former, and diamonds, chintz, and muslins from the latter; but the Goonds, being situated in a hilly and woody country, had little communication with their neighbours, and even at the present period are in a state of comparative barbarism.

Mutual intercourse serves to polish and refine the manners of mankind, and society tends to soften the feelings, and, by promoting a love of novelty, naturally begets luxury and progressive improvements in the arts. The rarities of one country are transported to another, more extensive connexions are formed, and in times of peace commerce is improved and manufactures flourish. Independently of trade in articles of luxury, however, the nature of the climate, and of the inhabitants of India promotes an intercourse even for their very existence. The uncertainty of the periodical falls of rain is frequently productive of famine; and in such a case the only two alternatives left for

the people of one part of the country are either to emigrate into another, or to have grain brought to them: the latter, therefore, is naturally adopted.

* Unlike the natives of Europe, custom and religious habit, whether the offspring of wise laws or fanatical superstition, preclude the greater part of the Hindoos from partaking of animal food, which is even a very unusual aliment amongst any of them. Few of the productions of the soil will keep for any length of time; and as the harvest, when good, is most ample, little precaution is taken for future emergencies.

Under such circumstances, the transport of grain from one place to another becomes an occupation of considerable extent and importance, and has for many ages been carried on by the class of people who furnish the subject of this paper. But although the cause of this necessary transport has been accounted for, and although the demand must occasionally be very great, yet it will naturally depend upon the failure of the crops; so much that it would be too precarious for any very large body of people to undertake it as its sole occupation, so that we find this transport trade extended to all kinds of merchandize: and as the Deccan is devoid of a single navigable river,† and has no roads that admit of wheel-carriages, the whole of this extensive intercourse is carried on by laden bullocks, the property of that class of people denominated *Bunjaras*.

The appellation by which this race is known is probably a compound Hindoo word expressive of their habit of *burning the woods*, or from their *living in the woods*.‡ They are divided into four classes, which have branched into numerous families, and whose language, habits, and manners differ from those of the Deccan nations so materially as at once to stamp them as foreigners. They, however, appear to have adopted the dress of

† The rivers are too impetuous for navigation when they are swollen by the periodical rains; and in the hot season they become too shallow, except in those short portions of their course where a very small number of great rivers have reached their utmost magnitude.

‡ Probably the last, *bun* or *wun* being either a wood or waste.

the Murhuttas, the most northern of the Deccan people; and it is fair to infer from this fact, which comes in confirmation of their own oral traditions, that they first settled in that country; but the precise period of their arrival remains in obscurity, although it is probable they accompanied the first Mahomedan armies which so frequently invaded the Deccan from

*Hindoostan in the fourteenth century. To the dress *162 of the Murhuttas the Bunjara women have added massive rings of ivory, either plain or dyed, round their arms, which they have substituted for lighter metallic bracelets; and the men wear at the end of the strings with which they fasten their short drawers round the waist a profusion of heavy and gaudy-coloured tassels, and are easily distinguishable by these peculiarities of dress.

Their habits, however, they have preserved entirely distinct, and have retained their language so completely that I have ascertained it to be the same as that spoken in the province of Marwar at the present day. Among their habits is one which is remarkable, and comes in strong confirmation of their own accounts (if confirmation was required in addition to that of the retention of their language), and this is the fact of each horde of any size having a *bhatt*, or bard, who recounts in metrical rhapsodies the actions of their forefathers, and is the principal actor in all festivals; he plays on a kind of guitar, and the airs are some of them very pretty. The Bhatts are common, even at the present time, among the people of Marwar; and both facts confirm the tradition of the Bunjara histories. This retention of their habits and native tongue for several centuries is perhaps one of the most remarkable instances of the kind to be found in any history, when we consider that they have no written records, and, unless among themselves, no intercourse in the language. Excepting the Gipsies in Europe, I know of no other where a *small colony* without literature has preserved its original language; but as the causes of this retention are the same, the effects are naturally similar: for each has avoided living in towns, and has remained entirely separated from the natives amongst whom it has settled.

The Bunjaras of the Deccan are of that description of people which in Hindoostan is called Rujpoot—a word, as far as I have been able to ascertain, signifying the Chutree tribe of Hindoos, and whose occupations, strictly speaking, ought to be confined to a military life; and in this tribe also is the lineal succession of royalty preserved. The Rujpoot may cultivate with his own hands his own land; but he must not work as a *villain* for another, he can only *serve* as a soldier; but custom permits him * to perform many things for himself that it would be * 163 disgraceful for him to do as the menial of another.

It is to this class of Hindoos that the Bunjaras belong, and in the Deccan consist of four principal tribes—viz. 1. Rahtore, 2. Burtceah, 3. Chowhan, 4. Powur.

The Rahtore, with whom I have had most intercourse, is the most numerous tribe; and in order to give some idea of the care they take to preserve their genealogy, I have affixed a table to this paper which traces one branch of it, from its founder Bheeca down to Ram Chundur the present chief. I have obtained it with much trouble, and insert it as it serves to exhibit in a very strong point of view the precision with which they preserve their purity of blood, and the lineal succession to the chiefship.

Of these Rujpoot emigrants we know nothing from historical records; their numbers were probably too few either to be felt in their native provinces, or in those into which they arrived: but, according to their own oral traditions, the tribe of Rahtore is from the neighbourhood of Ujmeer in Marwar, “the original country of the Rahtore Rujpoots;” and the colony from whence the Rahtore Bunjaras are sprung was led into Deccan by Bheeca, consisting of seven families related to each other by the nearest ties of consanguinity, and the chiefs of each family had the following names:—1. Alun, 2. Balun, 3. Mohun, 4. Moochal, 5. Jatsee, 6. Dhurumsee, 7. Gote.

From the circumstance of Bheeca's having no children, he is said to have adopted one Cumdur, the son of the rajah of Joudpoor, as his heir, who, succeeding to the office of chief of the Rahtore Bunjaras, assumed the family name of his patron;

and the tribe consequently at the present day is vulgarly called Bhoochia, and traces in a direct line from Bheeca eleven individuals, down to Ram Chunder the present chief.

Concerning the origin of the second tribe, called Burtceeah, there is a remarkable tradition, which, however ridiculous in fact, bears on the face of it a degree of simplicity and originality which renders it worth relating. But as a tribe of Rujpoots called Burtceeah exists at the present day in the neighbourhood of Bhicaneer, and is also mentioned by the celebrated *Indian historian Ferishta, I am inclined to doubt the propriety of applying the title exclusively to the Deccan Bunjara tribe.

The Bunjaras, however, give to the Burtceahs of the Deccan but half a *gote* or family; and they account for this fact as follows:—In the course of the travels of the Powurs, they one day discovered a male infant lying under a bur-tree so far situated from any habitation as to lead them to conclude that it was left there to perish; but a charitable female of the horde took it up, adopted and reared it: and from the circumstance of its being found under a bur it was called Burtceeah. From its having been brought up among the Powurs, the foundling imbibed all their customs and habits and learned their language. At the age of puberty he became enamoured of a beautiful Powuray; but as the Bunjaras do not intermarry in their own tribe, the girl refused to listen to his vows, as it was impossible they could be married. Mutual daily intercourse served but to increase their affection, and the progress of the passion of love surmounted the difficulties presented by the cooler dictates of reason. At length the time arrived when the secret of their connexion would soon have been apparent; and they both consented, for each other's sakes, to abandon their little world (the Bunjara camp), and incur the severe but necessary evil of excommunication. They one night left their tents and fled: on the morrow the news of their elopement was noised abroad, they were pursued and taken. A *Punchayut* (or council of five persons) was held, and the decision expelled the Powuray from her tribe. They consented at last, indeed, to acknowledge the pair as the head of an out-

cast tribe, to be denominated after the foundling, Burteeah; but they are on this account only allowed to claim Bunjara origin from the mother's side. They have, however, branched out into fifty-two families, each of which has a head and a peculiar name.

The third tribe, called Chowhan, is descended from six families, blood relations, and they are thus denominated:—1. Coorā, 2. Palteea, 3. Laowřeca, 4. Cujroot, 5. Supatt, 6. Moorř. From these all also several minor branches sprung, but whose names I do not detail.

The fourth tribe, called Powur, is descended from twelve families, also* blood relations, viz.:—1. Gorama, 2. * 165 Amgote, 3. Wacřote, 4. Islavut, 5. Jurbhulla, 6. Lon-savut, 7. Locavut, 8. Lombavut, 9. Bany, 10. Mory, 11. Ařote, 12. Chařote. These are also subdivided into other branches; but it would be tedious and unnecessary to insert them. The table of the Rahtore genealogy will answer as a specimen of the whole system.

The first mention of the Bunjaras of the Deccan on historical record, which I recollect, is to be found in the work written by Mahomed Kassim Ferishta about two hundred years ago, at the court of Beejapoor, entitled “A History of the Rise and Progress of the Mahomedan Faith in the Country of Hind.” In his account of the Mahomedan monarchs of the Deccan, he records that in the year 1417† a large convoy of Bunjara bullocks was seized by Khan Khanan, the brother of Feroze Shah Bahmunee, when the former prince rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Goolburga, the Deccan capital. Ferishta calls them there “grain merchants, who travel about the country from one end of Deccan to the other.” Up to this period, therefore, we may safely trace them and their habits; but their own accounts are, for want of the use of letters, so confused, and always so involved, like all Hindoo history, in fable, that little reliance can be placed upon them.

† See Major Jonathan Scott's excellent translation of the History of the Bhamineca Dynasty, vol. i., p. 92.

From the circumstance of their being mentioned as a race of people well known in the Deccan so early in the fifteenth century, it will not perhaps be too much to presume that these northern Rujpoots were employed in the double capacity of soldiers and carriers in the transport of supplies, with the Mahomedan armies under the cruel and infamous Mahomed Toghluk, king of Dehly in the fourteenth century, during his several invasions of the Deccan; and that they remained south of the Nerbudda when the Turkish chiefs of Dowlutabad threw off the yoke of his authority.† Without, however, insisting upon this probable era of their invasion, I shall proceed to the account which the Bunjaras of the Rahtore tribe give of themselves.

* Bheeca with his horde, consisting of seven blood relations,—who we shall suppose were his brothers,— * 166 left Ujmcer and came into the Deccan, following the occupation of a carrier of goods of all descriptions, and as a corn-merchant; sometimes attaching himself to the fortunes of generals of armies, but usually more guided by self-interest than any principle of virtue or morality.

The Bunjara history is now a complete blank for six generations,‡ merely retaining the names of the lineal descendants from their founder, until the time of Sarung (called Bhungy, from his propensity to the intoxicating drug (called *bhung*), who carried on the transport trade in the neighbourhood of Dowlutabad, at the head of a horde consisting of three thousand bullocks. The rest of his tribe, in consequence of the maladministration of his predecessors, paid him no kind of obedience, and was dispersed in small bodies all over the Deccan; while at the same time Bhugwan Burteeah, a man of more thrifty character and steady conduct, had united nearly the whole of his tribe, and could muster twelve thousand head of cattle. Such were the relative situations of these two chiefs when Ourungzeeb mounted the throne of Dehly, and subsequently

† A.D. 1345-1353. Dow, vol. ii., pp. 35 and 52.

‡ See Genealogical Tree annexed.

marched to the Deccan for the purpose of subverting the power of the monarchs of Beejapoor and Golconda. In order to supply his army, it is said that he had recourse to the Bunjara chieftains,—a fact which strongly corroborates the idea of their having been frequently employed in the same way by other captains,—and demanded how many head of cattle, for the transport of supplies, they would each undertake to furnish. Bhugwan Burtteah, with an honest pride, declared that he had twelve thousand at his majesty's service; but the Rahtore chieftain,—probably drunk at the moment,—told the king that he could collect in the course of a given time one hundred and eighty thousand.

Sarung Bhungy immediately despatched messengers to all the Rahtores to join the imperial army, and in a short time collected a number superior to that of his rival Bhugwan, when

Ourungzeeb presented him with a standard, and shortly afterwards a patent to bring in grain to the royal* camp free of duties; and they pretend that at the same time they received three privileges which they have ever since exerted :—

1. To take the thatch from off all houses when grass is scarce.
2. To appropriate to their own use all water which may be found in pots ready drawn for the use of a family.
3. Indiscriminate plunder in the enemy's country.

The state of the Rahtore Bunjaras became now such as to require the vigilance and care of such a man as Sarung, who saw the necessity of modelling a code of laws, which still exists and forms the basis of their little government. He found that the personal character of the chief could alone secure the obedience of his tribe, and that, as the whole community were proprietors of a general stock, it was in the power of any member, if he chose, to emigrate, and thus divide the formidable power which he, by his wisdom, had brought together; he saw that amongst a body of proprietors there must be a certain number amenable to one, and this person was called a *naiq*, who was elected by the proprietors of his horde or *tanda*; and the several *naiqs* paid obedience to the chief of them all, who was seated on a *gady* or

woolsack ; and this office naturally devolved on Sarung Bhungy, the lineal descendant of Bheeca. The several hordes which had joined him had each of them a nominal chief; but it was now agreed that the *naiq*ship should descend lineally on the nearest relation, and that he should only be put aside by the majority of voices of the proprietors composing the *tanda*, the number of which, of course, must necessarily depend on the demand for their services in one place. These proprietors at the present day possess from four or five as far as two hundred head of cattle each; and a *tanda* not unfrequently, in times of great demand, consists of thirty thousand bullocks. The only privilege of a *naiq*, or chief of a horde, is the exclusive right of appropriating to his own use everything which is presented to him by his employers.

To prevent that promiscuous intercourse of the sexes which would most probably soon have taken place in consequence of large bodies living in the open fields, with no home but a single piece of cloth to serve as a tent, it had long before the time of Sarung Bhungy been usual * for the Bunjaras to select their wives out of a tribe different from their own; now, * 168 however, it was resolved into an institute of the new code that if a Rahtore was guilty of having connexion with a woman of his own tribe the crime should be considered incest, and the criminals be expelled from the tribe. This custom has been adopted by each horde of Bunjaras, and the well-known chastity of their women has its origin in this wise law.

To avoid the possibility of personal hatred against the chief of the tribe, or of the minor *tanda*, from an undue exercise of authority, it was resolved that all punishment should be limited to pecuniary fines or expulsion; that no Bunjara should be liable to suffer death by the hand of the magistrate, which would vest too much power in him, and make his office, instead of being that of a father, rather that of a master. And no man can be punished in any way without being first tried by a jury of five, to consist of the proprietors of the *tanda*, any and all of whom he is at liberty to object to; and this liberty extends so far as to enable the culprit, if he chooses, to deny the power of the jury,

but by which he deprives himself of all his Bunjara rights, and is accordingly excommunicated,—a ceremony which is performed by the culprit being led to the skirts of the camp, attended by the horde, and there, having received four strokes of a slipper on his head, he is expelled. To prevent, however, the same person from entering again into the Bunjara community, it is an ordinance that no individual or small body of Bunjaras shall be received as members of an established tanda or horde; if circumstances disperse a horde, the individuals must reunite under their former *naiq*, or remain independent and form a new tanda.

If a serious cause of dispute should take place between two Bunjaras, in order to prevent its leading to blows, and oftener to drawing of swords, each member of the community is bound to throw himself between the disputants, in order that it may be settled by law; if swords are drawn and this appears imprudent, the mediator takes off his turban, and, holding one end in his hand, throws it at full length between the parties; and this seldom fails to remind both of the nature of their laws and the
 * necessity of abiding by them: and to continue the
 * 169 quarrel after the intercession of a mediator is a crime punishable by jury.

The unanimity which exists among this body, and the extreme punctuality with which they adhere to these customs considered by them as religiously sacred, would probably prevent the frequent recurrence of crimes of a minor consideration, such as stealing among themselves in any shape; but, whatever be the nature of the crime, it is punishable only by jury in the following proportions of pecuniary mulct:—

1. Petty crimes are fined at the rate of five rupees as a mulct, payable to the woolsack.

2. The next great fine is a rupee to be paid in the name of each of the seven families of the Rahtore, in addition to five to the woolsack, making twelve rupees.

3. The greatest fine that can be levied is seven rupees to the Rahtores, six to the tribe of Chowan, and twelve to that of Powur, besides the five to the woolsack; making the extreme sum of thirty rupees.

After the collection of the fine, the sum of money, excepting only one rupee which is scrupulously reserved for the woolsack (rather as a register of the number of fines than the amount of them), is all expended in purchasing *Bhung*, liquor (of which the Bunjaras are devotedly fond), and any other inebriating articles. The plaintiff and defendant are seated next to each other; some Bhung leaf pulverized is placed in the right hand of each, and they blow it off in token of their quarrel having blown over for ever, as the dust which has just been dispersed. The rest of the horde sit round and drink; and it is at this time that their *Bhatts*, or bards, sing, either extempore or not, as it may happen (accompanying themselves with a kind of guitar), the deeds of their illustrious ancestors.

Although it was considered by this respectable lawgiver that the power of life and death should not be vested in the hands of his successors, he made it lawful in cases of murder that the friends and relatives of the murdered should put the murderer to death within the period of three days after the commission of the deed; after which if any revenge was taken, the parties attacking the original murderer should be themselves liable

* 170 to * the same punishment by his friends and relatives:

so that by this simple institute a murderer seldom escaped death, although it not unfrequently happened that one of the parties was excommunicated on account of these protracted feuds.

We had reached that part of the Rahtore history when Sarung Bhungy, in consequence of the increase of his horde to an extent superior to that of Bhugwan Burtteah, was induced to form the above laws. But the power which he had so speedily raised, the favour with which he had been treated by Ourungzeeb, and the insignificance into which Bhugwan had himself sunk, raised such jealousy in the mind of Bhugwan, that he resolved to put his rival to death. Sarung was insidiously invited by one of the rajahs of Murhutt, on the south bank of the Godavery, to a feast, whither he repaired attended only by five persons; he was waylaid by his rival, and had only time to draw an arrow and lay Soondur, the brother of Bhugwan, dead at his feet,

when he was overpowered by three hundred Burtceahs, and himself and attendants killed. The instant that the news of Sarung's death reached the Rahtore camp, Jodha the brother and Thacore the son of the deceased, having procured the co-operation of Bhagnjee Peddajee the zemindar of Beer with a large body of Rahtores, attacked the Burtceah camp, took the whole of their cattle, put to death and mutilated their men, and carried away many of their women into captivity. This acquisition of wealth gave additional strength to the Rahtores, and it became a matter of policy for the remaining Burtceahs to consolidate themselves; and some years afterwards they made an attack on a small body of Rahtores, which was defeated.

From the time of Ourungzeeb, they have no account of being again employed to convey grain with armies till the time of Nasir Jung, who gave to Narayn Bhungy a patent dated 15th Zeehuj A.H. 1162 (15th November 1749), to furnish his army with supplies without molestation; and since that time they have constantly received orders from the government of the Soobahdar of the Deccan to supply his army with grain. In the reign of the late Nizam-ool-Moole a large body of Rahtores were encamped in the neighbourhood of Budrachellum, situated in the vicinity of *the Godavery river, lying about N.E. from

* 171 Hyderabad, when they were attacked by a horde of Burtceahs: a bloody action ensued, in which the Rahtores suffered severely, but were fortunate enough to take one female captive. A few months afterwards they again met at a place called Ramagoorum, on the banks of the Crishna river, when the Rahtores were completely defeated with severe loss in killed and wounded, besides that of many cattle, and above all the standard given to them by Ourungzeeb and the patent presented to Sarung Bhungy. These honourable trophies of victory are now in possession of the chief of the Burtceahs, who, as well as the chief of the Rahtores, resides in the city of Hyderabad, the trade of which is now open to both.

The battle of Ramagoorum is the last which has taken place: and, although they can give no account of the precise period, they say it was in the time of Monsieur Bussy's power in the

Deccan. Orme, in his celebrated history of the wars of those times, speaks of the Bunjaras under the name of Lumbaras (or as he calls them Lumballis) as having been very useful to Bussy in his defence of the post of the Char-Mahal at Hydrabad, against the whole of the Nizam's power, from the 5th July till the 15th August 1756. "Besides the provisions" (says that historian) "which were laid in store, the army at *Charmal* was constantly supplied with cattle for the shambles, and forage for the horses, oxen, camels, and elephants, by bands of a people called Lumballis, peculiar to the Deccan, who are continually moving up and down the country with their flocks, and contract to furnish armies in the field. The union amongst all these bands renders each respectable, even to the enemy of the army they are supplying." The fact, therefore, of their furnishing forage and provisions to armies is notorious, and may be traced back as one of their principal means of subsistence even as far as the time of Ourungzeeb : but we do not know whether they acted as carriers merely, or merchants ; and if in the latter capacity whether they received advance from bankers or government to trade with. The first time, however, that they were employed in either capacity, which I recollect, by the British government, was in the first war with Tippoo in the years 1791-2.

At that period the * allies, consisting of the Hydrabad * 172 and Poonah armies, co-operated with the British troops from Madras, under the personal command of the Governor-General of India, the Marquis Cornwallis ; and it was to the timely supply of provisions brought by the Bunjaras who accompanied the Murhutta army under Pursooram Bhow, that the safety of the British army may be ascribed. Bheema Naiq Bhungy received an advance of cash from Sir John Kennaway, the English ambassador at Hydrabad, and a patent ; and his brother Somah at the same time had one from Lord Cornwallis himself, which I saw at Hydrabad in his possession, and of which I was permitted to make the following translation.

"To all public officers whom it may concern :—

"Whereas at this period Somah Naiq Bhungy is proceeding from the camp of his Highness Sreemunt Madhoo-Row Nara-

yen Pundut Purdhan Peshwa Sahib, Bahadur, to procure grain for the propitious† army, and as no distinction exists between the interests of the allied forces now in the field, it has been thought proper to give this patent or commission to Somah Naiq Bhungy, in order to enable him to procure grain in any part of the territories of the allies, and to permit such grain as may be collected by the said Naiq to pass through the said territories without let or hindrance, and free from all duties or imposts, so that he may bring the grain aforesaid direct to the allied armies. But if the said Somah Naiq should bring into the camp any articles which do not come under the denomination of grain or provisions, then such articles will be liable to taxation, as is customary in the territories of the Honourable Company.

“Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of August 1791.

(Signed) “CORNWALLIS. (L. S.)”

This is the first document of the kind which the Bunjaras received from the British government; and I shall now take a view of the nature of the connexion which they had together.—I have before premised that the English commander advanced large sums of money on this occasion to the Bunjaras, and I have reason to suppose that it was a thing which had never before been done; but what security he received for this advance,

*or for the due performance of the contract, I am unac-

* 173 quainted with; it was probably a compact of honour, but so blended with mutual interests that the parties had confidence in each other.

The nature of this compact is, that the Bunjara shall, in the first instance, receive a certain sum of money in order to be enabled to purchase grain, which he does in any part of the country most convenient to himself, and then brings it into the camp. Upon entering the lines, he is bound to give an account of the quantity of grain purchased, and he enters into an agreement to convey the grain with the camp wherever it may go, and not to open a single bag until he has obtained the

† British.

permission of the Commander-in-Chief, which he is to sell at the average rate of the camp-market: and after the disposal of the whole, the original sum advanced is repaid. The object of the Bunjara, therefore, must be to fill and sell as soon as possible if the grain is dear; but on the other hand, if cheap, it is his object to keep the grain as long as possible on hand. The objects of the commander also must be the same,—to be as speedily supplied as he can when it is scarce; and not to overstock the market in times of plenty, but to retain the surplus in store. The system of pecuniary advances in 1791 soon rendered it necessary to have accountants among the Bunjaras; and, as a check upon them, a native commissary on the part of the British government in time of war always accompanies their horde; while on their part the proprietor of a certain number of bullocks keeps his single account by tying knots on a piece of packthread.

The peace of 1792, signed under the walls of Seringapatam, dispersed the allied armies, and the Bunjaras returned to their respective ranges north of the river Crishna. In the year 1798, however, a similar confederation between His Highness the Nizam and the British government took place, in order to reduce the power of the restless and ambitious sovereign of Mysore; and the services of the Bunjaras were again called forth. The British Resident advanced 150,000 rupees to the chief at Hyderabad, and there were mustered below the Ghauts 25,000 bullock-loads of grain, which had accompanied the Nizam's forces under the command of Captain (now Colonel) Sir John Malcolm. The army under the command of Lieutenant-General Harris now advanced into Mysore; but before it reached Seringapatam it experienced considerable distress for want of grain, when the general heard * 174 that Bheema Naiq with a supply of 15,000 bullock-loads was at the foot of the Ghauts; but as he deemed it dangerous to permit his advance alone, Major-General Floyd with the whole of the British cavalry was detached to give protection to this valuable convoy. The army of the enemy under the celebrated Kumrood-Deen-Khan hovered daily on his flanks, but

did not prevent his giving safe-conduct to Bheema Naiq up the Ghauts. At this time the army besieging Seringapatam was in the greatest distress, and rice sold for two rupees each seer; but the exertions of the British troops surmounted all obstacles; and the 4th of May 1799 witnessed the downfall of that capital and the death of Tippoo, whose granaries were so largely stored that the average rate of the price of rice was thirty seers for a rupee.

As the grain with Bheema Naiq did not reach the city for some days after the fall of Seringapatam, if the British general had adhered to the letter of the compact with the Bunjaras they must have been ruined, and it is more than likely they would never have joined us again; but that liberality which distinguishes our government from all others in the East compromised the matter, and secured the hearty co-operation and assistance of these useful people in a subsequent war with the Murhuttas. The whole of the grain was purchased at the average rate of five seers for a rupee; the Bunjaras returned the original sum advanced to them, and had sufficient remaining to pay them for their labour, expense, and risk. The chief naiqs received honorary dresses and swords, and their leader Bheema Bhungy was presented with an elephant. But while liberality characterized our actions in this instance, a very short time afterwards it was necessary to have recourse to some severe measures in another.

Seringapatam had not long fallen, when a partisan named Dhondy, collecting a considerable body of the disbanded troops of the late government, refused to acknowledge the authority of the conquerors; and a large force under the command of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (now Marquis Wellington) was sent in pursuit of him; while another detachment under Colonel Dalrymple, with the Nizam's subsidiary force, was sent to co-operate. A small horde of Bunjaras in the employ of the

British * government were endeavouring to go over to * 175 the enemy, when they were intercepted by this latter officer, who, by way of an example to those accompanying him, hung seven of the principal naiqs, and explained to

them that our vengeance was not less to be dreaded than our liberality was to be desired.

I have shown that in the last Mysore war 40,000 bullocks belonging to the Bunjaras were actually employed, independently of the supplies from Madras and the Carnatic: in the war which took place in the Deccan in the year 1803 under the Honourable Major-General Wellesley (now Marquis Wellington), a muster took place in the camp of Colonel Stevenson, then in command of His Highness the Nizam's forces of the Bunjara bullocks at the town of Gardown, in the month of August 1803; and the number will give some idea of the extent of the resources of the Rahtores alone:—

On account of the British forces (under Bhceema Naiq Bhungy)	35,000
On account of the Nizam's contingent force (under Letchune Naiq Bhungy)	26,000
On account of private individuals (Bunjaras trading).	23,000
<hr/>	
Total...	84,000

This is agreeable to the muster-roll of Captain Stainforth Johnson, Commissary-General with the army at the time.

The utility of the Bunjara system appears never to have been more clearly evinced than in this war. Without any large complicated commissariat establishment, without being compelled to employ many troops or permanent public servants, without incurring the risk of peculation or fraud, or the danger of a defalcation of supplies, the British and allied armies in the Deccan, consisting of nearly 60,000 men, in a country which had been desolated by the hand of the ruthless Murhutta, where human nature revolted at the horrid scenes of misery which were every day and everywhere exhibited, brought on by famine and devastation; where the famished mother was seen devouring her own infant; where the son was feeding on the flesh of his parent to protract an existence which was to end to-morrow:—amid such scenes, in such a country, and *at such a time, the forces of the allies were supplied with grain for three whole * 176 campaigns, at the average rate of seven seers for a rupee,

but which was never less at any time than five. It was in consequence of this admirable system that the army was enabled to move with facility and celerity in every direction ; while on the contrary, if it had depended in the slightest degree on the resources of that desolate tract which became the scene of war, instead of advancing from Poonah and Hydrabad to the north of Berar, and within a few miles of the capital of the enemy, the war must have been merely one of defence ; the operations of the campaign must have been limited to the protection of an immense extent of frontier, which, in spite of our efforts, would have been invaded, and our own country reduced probably to the miserable condition of that into which we had carried the war.

Although the Bunjaras have, generally speaking, performed their contracts with the British government with great probity, yet it would appear that they have been actuated more by motives of personal interest or fear than by innate principles of honour. In the campaign of Colonel Dalrymple in 1800 there was one instance of their want of fidelity which I have already noticed : in the campaign of Marquis Wellington there were two others, which it may be proper to relate. The first was the actual march of a small tando to join the enemy, which was intercepted by an officer of the name of Dooly Khan, commanding a body of the Nizam's horse ; he reported the circumstance to Lord Wellington, who wrote to Dooly Khan to confiscate the grain and hang the naig of the tando. The Nizam's officer, however, neglected to execute the latter part of the order, but appropriated the grain to the use of his troops : and as a very curious incident arose from this circumstance, I shall relate it, although not immediately connected with the subject ; it will, however, tend to show in what veneration Lord Wellington's character was then held, and also evince the degree of penetration into men's characters which some of the Indians possess.

In the year 1808, five years after the circumstance which has been mentioned took place, the very naig who was going
 * 177 over to the enemy hearing that Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay (who had been Adjutant-General * with Marquis

Wellington in the Deccan) was then the Town-Major of Madras, went to him and complained that Dooly Khan had in the year 1803 or 1804 seized a large quantity of grain, for which he had never accounted. Colonel Barclay was imposed on by the story, and wrote to a friend at Hyderabad to interest himself with the Resident, Captain Thomas Sydenham, to recover the money from Dooly Khan. Accordingly Captain Sydenham some time afterwards begged that Dooly Khan would call on him on business. After being seated the subject was introduced, and the Bunjara naik called in. Dooly Khan instantly recollected the circumstance, and said, "I have got about me the order to hang that old man;" and produced, from among a number of other letters which he took out of his turban, the identical letter. Of course the Bunjara's cause fell to the ground, and Captain Sydenham congratulated him on his fortunate escape. Captain Sydenham, however, could not help asking Dooly Khan how he came to have the letters of Sir A. Wellesley (as he then was†) about him; "since," said he, "you could not have been aware of the subject upon which I requested this visit." "No," said the chieftain, "that's true; but you see in that packet every letter I ever received from General Wellesley; and I keep them always close to my person, or on my head, out of respect for the talents and capacity of a man whose equal I never saw, either as a soldier or politician: and while I possess these I am convinced I shall meet with no harm; they are in fact," said he, "a talisman."

The other breach of compact took place in the neighbourhood of Jaafurabad, where, during the height of the famine, the Bunjaras sold, instead of bringing to our camp, 38,000 seers of rice for 16,000 rupees. In consequence of this defalcation in the amount they delivered, it was the intention of Colonel Stevenson to have hanged the naiqs; but prudential motives, connected with the fact of their not having received 12,000 rupees which it was intended they should have had, prevented him.

Before I close this sketch I shall give some account of their

† A.D. 1808.

manners and habits.—In the first place, the Bunjara, born in the open field and bred up in a camp, braves the heat of a vertical sun, and the bleak blast *and deluge of the rainy season, from the time of his birth. In this life he acquires a robust constitution, a fierceness of manner and disposition, and a freedom of thought and action, which combine to render him athletic, hardy, and brave. The women are much of the same character, and are remarkable for their extreme want of beauty. The care of the former is to tend his cattle; of the latter to perform the menial and culinary offices, and to rear the children. The dress of both, as I have before remarked, appears to resemble that of the Murhuttas; and the arms of the men consist principally of a sword, frequently double-edged, and a shield, or else a spear, and sometimes a matchlock. They are constantly attended by dogs of a peculiar breed, resembling our English rough shepherd's dog, but considerably larger and handsomer; their colour, which is generally sandy or gray, and the length of their harsh wiry hair, evidently point them out of a wild breed, or, more properly speaking, indicate their habits of dwelling in the air. With these animals, which are famous for their docility and attachment, as well as their intrepidity in attack and courage in long chases, they hunt hares and wild boars, whose flesh they prize highly, and in the rainy season are often successful in taking deer, which they also eat.

In marching with convoys of grain or merchandize, they are particularly careful to count each bag both at loading and unloading; and in cases of expected attack they pile them up breast-high, with their cattle inside, and have been known to fight with unparalleled desperation and courage. In attending armies they generally leave their women and children in some station of their own country. The grant that they pretend to have received from Ourungzeeb, for "the thatch of houses, the seizuro of well-drawn water, and plunder in the enemy's country," has furnished them with pretexts for their general predatory habits. Wherever they go in times of peace they are most cruel robbers on the highways; for they seldom spare the

life if any resistance is made, or there is the slightest chance of discovery; while in times of war it has been frequently found necessary to defend the villages of our own and the enemy's country on the flanks, by protecting them with safeguards; but no inducement will lead individuals to tell to what *tanda* they

belong: nor will the **naiqs* of the *tandas* they belong
* 179 to either acknowledge them or revenge their cause.

Theft by them, as among the Spartans, is not considered as a crime, but detection brings with it its own punishment. A remarkable instance both of their depravity and of their principles of honour in this respect took place in the Murhutta campaign in 1803. One evening an order reached Colonel Stevenson from General Wellesley, to send to him during that night five hundred bullock-loads of grain for his cavalry, in order that the convoy might make good its way in the dark without being intercepted by the enemy, which it probably would have been in the day. The commissary's native agent was immediately sent to despatch the forage, and attended by a few troopers was proceeding towards the Bunjara camp, when his ear was assailed by the cries of some one in distress; he immediately went towards the spot and saw two Bunjaras with their swords drawn, and in the act of putting to death one of the camp sutlers: they were immediately pursued, overtaken, and on the following day executed in front of all the Bunjara *naiqs*, who maintained that they knew them not, and the culprits refused to give any account of themselves.

A similar circumstance happened a very short time ago with respect to Major Mackintosh, the Commissary-General of the Nizam's subsidiary force, on his way from Madras to Jalna, near the town of Nulgonda, with five Bunjaras, who after having robbed him of everything in his palankeen, and breaking it to pieces, left him without taking his life,—probably owing to the intrepidity of that officer, who, having the advantage of speaking the language, argued with them on the folly of putting him to death, which they at first attempted by running their pikes through his palankeen while he was in it, and which he told them would do them no good, but certainly

lead to their discovery. They were afterwards taken and brought to Hyderabad while I was there in October last, but they refused to give any account of themselves.

Such is the outline of the Banjara history.—If we consider their domestic and wandering habits merely, we cannot but view them as the most barbarous description of inhabitants in a country otherwise in a state of civilization; while if we look upon them as members of the commonwealth in a public point of view, we shall be inclined to admit their general utility to

the state, either by promoting commerce or maintain-
* 180 ing armies in the field in every contiguous territory. I

shall now conclude this sketch by taking a view of the ranges which the four different tribes at the present day occupy, and of showing the nominal extent of their several quotas of cattle, agreeably to the best information I have been enabled to collect from themselves; which, although not to be absolutely relied on, will exhibit their relative supposed capacity with what we know the Rahtores have already done.

1. The Rahtores possess ninety thousand head of cattle, occupying a line of country between the heads of the river Wurdah in Gondwara, drawing a line through Nismul, Hyderabad, Canool, and Curpa, down to the confines of the Mysore, and carrying on a trade to the west of that line as far as the coast of Concun. They are said to be distributed as follow :—

Hydrabad	50,000
Ourungabad	4,000
Poona and Concun	24,000
Ceded districts	12,000
	<hr/>
	90,000

2. The Burteeahs are said to range over the whole country lying along the eastern sea-coast, south of Chicacole down to Nellore, and they unite their range on the westward with the eastern line of the Rahtores. I have been unable to ascertain the interior distribution of their tandas, but the whole amount to 80,000.

3. The Chowhan range is south of Nellore, and embraces

the countries of the modern Curnatica or Dravida and the whole of the Mysore, maintaining about 18,000 bullocks.

4. The Powur is the least considerable of all the Bunjaras in numerical strength; but, of course, their extent must necessarily be limited to the demand for their services; and amongst them, like all other people, population must depend on the means of their subsistence, for while a man has not sufficient to support a family, he will not marry. This tribe is, however, more numerous in proportion to its cattle than the rest, and is for the same reason poorer. Its trade is confined to Orissa and

Ganjam with * Gondwara, which it supplies with salt * 181 from the sea-coast, and brings rice in return; and it is also employed in furnishing Nagpoor with all kinds of merchandize as well as provisions, and possesses 12,000 bullocks.

It will naturally be matter of surprise that those Bunjaras who have been employed with the different armies should still remain in such a state of apparent poverty, when it must be evident that in some instances their profits have been very great. But our astonishment ceases when we reflect upon their dissolute and wandering habits, their attachment to each other, their almost religious aversion to sleep even for one night in a house, and their habitual drunkenness. I am told that this last propensity is so confirmed in many,—I may say in most of them,—that a father of a family has scarcely prudence sufficient to purchase with his gains cattle to replace those that he has lost in the course of his campaigns.

I shall wind up this sketch with a word on a race of people called Mooltanies. They originally emigrated from Mooltan in the year 1739, when Nadir Shah invaded India; they then followed Asuf-Jah, the grandfather of the present Nizam, into the Deccan, and settled in the neighbourhood of Ourungabad, where they follow a similar trade to that of the Hindoo Bunjaras. They are, however, Mahomedans, and have no peculiarities excepting that of leading a wandering life, hutting themselves during the rains, and encamping during the rest of the year. About Ourungabad are about five thousand bullocks, and

some few about Hydrabad, where they live principally in the town, and follow the occupation of gold-finding and manufacturing ice for the nobility of the city.

Among the carriers of the Deccan are also the Beoparies, but they are exclusively merchants, and only transport their own goods.

If I have inserted anything in this account of the Bunjaras which may be afterwards found to be incorrect, I shall upon conviction be always ready to correct any error into which I may have fallen; and allowances will probably be made for my situation, in an obscure part of the peninsula, far removed from literary intercourse with persons whose inclinations, means, and opportunities give them every inducement and advantage in Oriental researches.

I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN BRIGGS.

* NOTE.—Since writing the above I have found the *183a following curious passage in the Life of Mohabut Khan contained in the Maasserool Omrah Timooreea, a biographical history of the Nobles of the Timoorean family in India, compiled by Gholam Ally Azed from the manuscripts of his friend Sumsam-ood-Dowla Shah-Nowaz Khan:—

“In the fifth year after the rebellion of Aazim Khan [which took place A.D. 1627], he (Khan Khanan) was again appointed to the Soobahdary of the Deccan. They say that during the former thirty or forty years, the Soobahdars of the Deccan had no sooner gained the summit of the Ghats than they were compelled to return, without fighting or even skirmishing, for want of supplies. But still no one ever thought of remedying this evil. The very first step which Mohabut Khan (Khan Khanan) took in the Deccan, was to present the Bunjaras of Hindoostan with elephants, horses, and cloths; and he collected (by these conciliatory measures) so many of them that he had one chief Bunjara at Agrah, another in Goojrat, and another above the Ghats, and established the advanced price of 10 seers per rupee (in his camp) to enable them to buy it cheaper.” “In the very next year (1633) Mohabut Khan invested Dowlatabad so closely with his army, that Futteh Khan, the son of Mullic Umbur, was compelled to surrender.” It will be observed that he had established at Agrah and in Goojrat two Bunjara depôts for grain, which were to supply the camp depôt above the Ghats: but probably this system appearing to Ourungzeeb, forty or fifty years afterwards, too extensive and complicated, he concentrated all the Bunjaras in the Deccan, and gave them the standard and patent which are now in the hands of the Bhurteeah chief at Hyderabad. I do not regard the combination and vigour given to the Bunjara confederacy by the Khan Khanan as indicating that the tribes might not have existed in A. D. 1417, in the Deccan, as mentioned by Ferishta (Scott's Deccan, vol. i., p. 92); but it would appear from the passage quoted, that they first began *systematically* to accompany armies so late as 1632.”

[NOTE.—See a sketch of the Banjârás of Berar, pp. 195-200 the *Berar*

Gazetteer, by A. C. Lyall, Commissioner of West Berar, Bombay, 1870; as regards the Banjárás of Chhattisgaḍha, see the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, edited by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 2nd edition (1870), p. 158; see Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. II., p. 152. where they are called Brinjáris, by which name, as well as that of Wanájáris, they are known in Maháráshṭra. In the South of India they are called Lambádis, Lamánis, or more briefly Lamáns; see Buchanan's Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, vol. II., pp. 144, 150, 165, 174, 179, 183, 185, 187, 190, vol. III., p. 433. Wilkes, in his History of Mysore (vol. II., p. 237), describes how these Brinjáris supplied Lord Cornwallis and the allies in the war with Tipu Sultán, where the reader will find curious accounts of their customs and wild freedom. One of their customs, of which I have not seen any recent account, is, in some respects analogous to the practice of *niyoga* amongst the Hindus:—i.e. the raising of issue by a brother on the widow of a deceased brother under certain rules, *vide* Manu's Code, Book IX., verses 69, 70. When a Brinjára dies, his widow has to marry his younger brother; and if he be a child she marries him after he has attained the proper age. See E. Balfour's Cyclopædia of India, second edition, vol. I., p. 328, article *Banjara*, and the authorities therein referred to. See also Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, vol. I., pp. 163, 172, 173, 208, 215, 217, 415, 444, 461, 470, 501, 577, 597, 598, 690, 631, 635; vol. II., pp. 27, 32, 84, 85, 110, 111, 298, 308, 369, 372, 373; vol. III., pp. 366, 536, 537; The Races of the N. W. Provinces of India, by Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited by J. Beames, Beng. C.S. (London, 1869), vol. II., p. 52; A Glossary of Vernacular Judicial and Revenue Terms, &c., compiled in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Calcutta, 1874).—Ed.]

* XIII.

*183

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARISNATH-GOWRICHA WORSHIPPED IN THE DESERT OF PARKUR †;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A FEW REMARKS UPON THE PRESENT MODE OF WORSHIP OF THAT IDOL.

By Lieutenant JAMES MACKMURDO.

Read on the 28th July 1813.

ABOUT 2,500 years from the first promulgation of the Parisnath worship, Heema Chaarge Juttee, a follower of Parsow, much respected among the Shrawuks for his learning, and who had great authority in all matters concerning religion, resided in Puran Puttun, ‡ a celebrated city in the district of Neherwalla, which was at that time governed by a Rajepoot raja named Goonmarpall, who lived about the year of Vikrimajut 1230 (or A.D. 1174.). Heema Chaarge succeeded in converting the raja to the Shrawuk religion, and was of that sect who dress in clean clothes and keep their persons purified, and are called Oswall.

After thirty years had elapsed, during the whole of which time Goonmar had acted as the disciple of Heema Chaarge, they on one occasion entered into a conversation upon the manner in which they worshipped their gods; and as they had acquired great celebrity for knowledge and sanctimony, they resolved to establish the worship of twenty-four idols, in the form of the twenty-four owstars of the Shrawuks; and having collected all the images of the country in one spot to perform their *prutushta*, § from which they expected to derive additional fame;—

† This account of the Parisnath Gowdecha or Gowricha is taken from Hindu writings, in particular the Shrawuk Poostuck named Goonmarpall Sid-hant.

‡ The ancient capital of Guzerat.

§ The ceremony of establishing a new idol for worship, or of removing it to a new temple.

As the first step towards their object, Heema Chaarge applied himself * to the worship of four devees, who were supposed to be his council on all occasions. These were * 184 Pudmawuttee, Juggur Eshwuree, Kalicka, and Amba Matha;† they all advised Heema Chaarge to desist, and made it appear that his death would be the consequence of his persisting in the attempt. Notwithstanding these remonstrances they persevered in their design, and made a collection of 3,003 idols illustrative of the twenty-four owtars, after which they waited for a fortunate moment to commence the *prutushta*. Two men were chosen to watch for the moment, one of whom was named Pall Chunder, a disciple of Heema Chaarge, the other was Ajeepall, the nephew (by the mother's side) of Goonmarpall; these two, however, mistook the time, and the *prutushta* was performed at an unlucky moment, of which circumstance they were informed by the devees, who also declared their days to be numbered, those of Heema Chaarge to three months, and those of the raja to six.

At that instant a Shrawuk merchant by name Gowridass, a native of Soigaum in the pergunnah of Rhadenpoor, appeared, carrying an image of Parisnath, to which he requested they would at the same time perform the ceremony of *prutushta*. Upon consulting the tables of calculation, the lucky moment had just arrived, and that Parisnath was regularly installed; after which Gowridass proceeded homewards with his idol. He was accompanied by a Coolee and a Soda Rajepoot, the latter of whom having occasion to turn out of the road, the Shrawuk sat down to the worship of his god; and being intent on prayer with his eyes shut, the Coolee, who was at hand, slew him for the sake of his property; but the Rajepoot returning to the spot was enraged at the cruel act, slew the Coolee, and taking the property and image delivered them to the sons of Gowridass, who dwelt in Wallaputtin, a city forty coss distant

† This devee is in very great repute in Marwar and its neighbourhood. The temples erected to her many centuries ago are to be seen in the wildest parts of the high mountains with which Marwar abounds: the ruins are said to possess much beauty. Amba is a ferocious and bloody devee.

from Puranputtun; after which he proceeded to his home, which was in Parinuggur† in the district of Parkur, with the raja of which he was connected.

* Some years after this circumstance, the city of
*185 Wallaputtun was deserted and buried in the sand of the desert. Thirty years after its destruction, there dwelt in Parinuggur two Shrawuk brothers, who were what are called Nuggur Seths, and at the same time transacted the business of the government; one of these was named Kajul, and the other Vijul. The deceased Gowridass, who is supposed to have become a *yuksh* or powerful spirit, appeared to Kajul in a dream and told him who he was; that his dwelling had been buried in the sand at Wallaputtun, that he had now not a single relation on earth, nor was there a soul possessing a drop of his blood then in existence; but that a Parisnath had been overwhelmed in his house, which he desired might be searched for, and placed in a situation where it might be worshipped. He also charged Kajul, if he professed the Shrawuk religion, to convey the image to Parinuggur, and give it to the raja of that place, of whose caste and family the Rajepoot had been, who had conducted himself so faithfully when Gowridass was slain by the Coolee.

The spirit directed Kajul to the town, which was again populated, where he would find a house inhabited by a Mahomedan directly over the spot where Gowridass's dwelling had formerly stood. Kajul was desired to give the Mahomedan nine hundred tunkas,‡ or 4,500 rupees, for permission to dig for an image buried on that spot, which would be granted, as the Mussulman had been already warned that a person with a large teeluk§ on his forehead would come on this errand. The spirit further desired the Shrawuk to dig till he found a small pagoda forming

† Once a flourishing city in the desert inhabited by rich Shrawuk merchants, whose temples are celebrated for their richness and elegance. Since the Sindians have become powerful it has been deserted, and is now reduced to the condition of a small and poor town.

‡ An ancient coin of Guzerat.

§ Distinguishing mark of the Hindoos, painted after bathing.

part of the house, and in this pagoda he would find the image with lights burning as if the *pooja* was performing; he was then to remove the image as directed, and make it public under the name of Gowri †Parisnath. * Kajul did as he was desired, and conveyed the idol to the raja, who was given to * 186 understand that it would be of service to his family. The Shrawuk next dreamt that he ought to build a temple, and the spot which was pointed out in the dream was near two stone images, about one coss and a half from the city. He was first, however, desired in his dream to carry the Parisnath out, and it would of its own accord point out the spot.‡ The idol was accordingly put into a palkee and conveyed outside, until at a certain place the palkee broke, and Gowricha fell to the ground. Here it was determined to build the temple; but neither stone nor water were procurable in the vicinity. The spirit of Gowridass desired Kajul to dig twenty-one hands to the west in the furrow of a plough, where he would find a marble vein; twenty-one hands on another side, where some rice was scattered, he would find one of gold; and the same distance to the north, where there was a little vegetation, he would find a spring. After these discoveries, the pagoda was begun: but Kajul's brother, envious of his brother's fame and the credit which he had gained in this transaction, invited him to a feast, and it is said that Vijul's wife poisoned the victuals of Kajul, who died immediately. After this Shrawuk's death, his brother wished to perform the pratushta of Gowricha, but the son of the deceased would not admit of it; and being informed of Vijul having caused his father's death, a mortal enmity took place between the branches of the family, which coming to the ears of the raja, he caused the ceremony to be performed by Kajul's son: but the image never sat in the posture in which it was originally placed, its face being turned in the opposite direction.

† Gowricha.—The termination *cha* is commonly used among the people of Sind, Kutch, Kattiwar, and Parkur. Thus Soomacha, the tribe of Sooma; Jharicha; and there is also a tribe in Sind called Goricha.

‡ This mode of proceeding is followed in many instances, and there are few sacred places in the country that have not this origin attributed to them.

When the raja and the Shrawuk observed that the god was averse to his situation, they prayed that he would make known his wishes ; and agreeably to Gowricha's desire, they made a couple of brass pots, in one of which he was placed and covered with the other, and in this state he* was secretly

* 187 buried in the sand, where he was never afterwards found

but by those whom he wished to befriend or benefit ; when he was sometimes discovered in the sand, and at other times he was taken from trees.

It is now nearly two hundred years since the same Gowricha Parisnath was discovered in the sand, and made more public than formerly : he was long in the possession of the descendants of the Soda Rajepoots, who governed in Parkur ; who shared the produce arising from his worship with the descendants of the Shrawuk, which latter had the privilege of being the first to worship the god whenever he was taken from his hiding-place. The race of the Shrawuk Kajul, it is affirmed, still reside in Parkur or its neighbourhood, and the pagoda which was built for the god still exists, as it is said, in its unfinished state. The Hindoos believe that Gowricha will remain in his present state nineteen thousand years and six days, after which he will disappear.

If we deprive this account of the fable in which it is obscured, we may, I think, discern a transaction by no means improbable. It may be easily reduced to one of those religious deceits which have been common in all countries at some period or other, and to which the inhabitants of some part of Asia may be considered as singularly open. The peculiarity ascribed to Gowricha, of moving in the sand, may have arisen from a change in the appearance of the spot where he might have been secreted ; as it is generally believed that the sand-hills in this desert shift or alter their forms with the prevailing winds. It might also have been invented to render the image an object of greater sanctimony in the eyes of the Shrawuks : or the best and most probable reason may be adduced from the value of the object, and the distracted state in which that country has always been from the feuds of the petty chieftains, to whom the possession of this

piece of marble would be productive of more revenue than the whole district of Nuggur Parkur;—it became therefore necessary to conceal it in the sand, which was done by the chief himself; and Gowricha was never taken from his hiding-place but on the visit of a large body of pilgrims, or for the purpose of adding to his security by a change of place.

* The following is a table of the Soda family of Parkur * 188 who have possessed this image:—

Raja Jusraj—Soda.

Do. Diodhir—do.

Do. Kunpall—do.

Do. Dhunpall—do.

Do. Parbhut—do.

Do. Jeetsir—do. and

his son Raja Morjee, who lived a few years ago. The little god was stolen from Moorjee by Suttajee, the grandfather of the present Poonjajee, chieftain of Wurawow, in whose possession it was in 1809. The Scindian authority having been of late years established in the desert tract, Gowricha's hiding-place has been changed to the neighbourhood of Soegaum, and the northern runn† of Kutch.

The Sunghs, or bodies of people who visit Gowricha, are of late neither so frequent nor so productive as they formerly were. A Sungh must have a leader possessed of riches sufficient to support the expense of protecting the pilgrims, and to pay the prime sum for a sight of Gowricha. This person gives timely information throughout the whole of India, and states the month he will arrive at Rhadenpoor, where he is accordingly joined by people of all ages and sexes, from the most remote parts of the peninsula and Hindoostan.

The person who possesses the idol has been previously invited to Rhadenpoor to negotiate for a sight of Gowricha, which is, however, not settled without much trouble and debate. The sum agreed upon is paid in cash, but the most difficult part of the arrangement still remains. The person who has the god

† Any wild waste is termed runn or erun: it also signifies an unproductive swamp, and a field of battle.

will not bring it nearer to Rhadenpoor than a town called Morewara,† which belongs to the family who possess the

* district of Therand : Morewara is situated about eight or ten miles to the N.W. of Rhadenpoor, and eight or ten miles from Soegaum on the Runn.

There are a variety of petty chieftains, Loolee, Rajpoot, and Jhat, whose interest it is to obstruct the passage of the Sungh through the country, and who plunder it at night until they are pacified by a sum of money corresponding to their abilities to annoy. Of these depredators there are no fewer than fifteen within twenty or twenty-five miles of Rhadenpoor ; those being well paid, and a handsome present having been made to the Nawab of Rhadenpoor, the Sungh moves in perfect safety to the place of worship. Security having been given by all the chieftains that no attempt shall be made to steal the idol, he is produced for the worship of the Shrawuks in the open air, and surrounded by a body of Rajepoot cavalry, who, if dangers are apprehended, have their swords drawn. The ceremony of worship consists of simple adoration and ample offerings of cash, jewels, and clothes, which are seized by the Rajepoots on the spot. The ceremony is continued from five to ten days, according to the number of pilgrims, who in the course of the ten days may succeed in seeing the god twice. When the Rajepoots see that the Sunghs have nothing more to bestow, they carry away Gowricha ; and the horsemen dispersing in different directions to mislead the spectators, the idol is deposited in a safe spot underground.

The sums of money expended by these pilgrims are immense ;—the accumulation of many years of industry is here thrown away in a few days ; and sick and lame, old and young, are anxious to undertake a dangerous and toilsome journey, and cheerfully dispose of everything in their possession, even to their dresses and personal ornaments, for a sight of their esteemed Gowricha.

It is perhaps impossible to estimate with any degree of pre-

† Formerly the Sunghs used to proceed all the way to Parkur ; but since it has been stolen by the Wurawow family the god has been brought nearer Rhadenpoor.

cision the receipts of the owner of this god on such occasions; but I was assured that he can levy sums of money by bills payable on any approaching Sungh. I heard it affirmed that a lakh of rupees has been advanced on this security, although if we give credit to half that sum it will still appear enormous.

* During my stay at Rhadenpoor in the beginning of * 190 1810, a large Sungh under Dyabhoy, a well-known merchant of Surat, was assembling. The leader, with about seventeen thousand people, arrived before my departure, and he expected that when he should be joined by all those who were on their journey, his Sungh would amount to seventy thousand, or probably a hundred thousand, men, women, and children. I learnt that he paid forty thousand rupees to the principal chieftains, and to the others of less account each a small sum, for their neutrality on the occasion of his passing through the country.

The image of Gowricha, according to the evidence of those who have seen it, is in a sitting posture, of white marble. His right foot is placed on his left knee. His hands are clasped within each other. A precious stone of some kind is fixed between his eyebrows. His eyes are of the same material: his figure is about one cubit or a little more in height, and has nothing peculiar in its appearance.

May 2, 1813.

[NOTE.—In the Sindh Gazetteer by A. W. Hughes (published in 1874) there is a brief allusion at p. 837 to this celebrated idol named *Godichá*. There was a temple dedicated to this Jain deity at the now deserted town of *Godí*. I visited the place in December 1854, when I was travelling with Sir B. (then Mr.) Frero, Commissioner in Sindh. The temple is in a thick jungle and in ruins. But there was an inscription on its walls which showed that it was dedicated to *Godichá Párvanátha*. Tradition gives *Samvat* 1432 as the year of its establishment here. From the account which I then compiled, it seems that the image had passed into the possession of the descendants of the chiefs of *Virá Vow*, the last of whom was *Punjáji*. He was captured by the Sindh Amírs, and died in *Samvat* 1888 (A.C. 1753). And it is said that no fair has been held since S. 1880. During the time of the Amírs, the image used to be carried across the Runn of Kutch, and fairs held at *Morwádá*, within the territory of the Chief of *Páhlán-pura*.—ED.]

OBSERVATIONS ON TWO SEPULCHRAL URNS
FOUND AT BUSHIRE, IN PERSIA.

By WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.

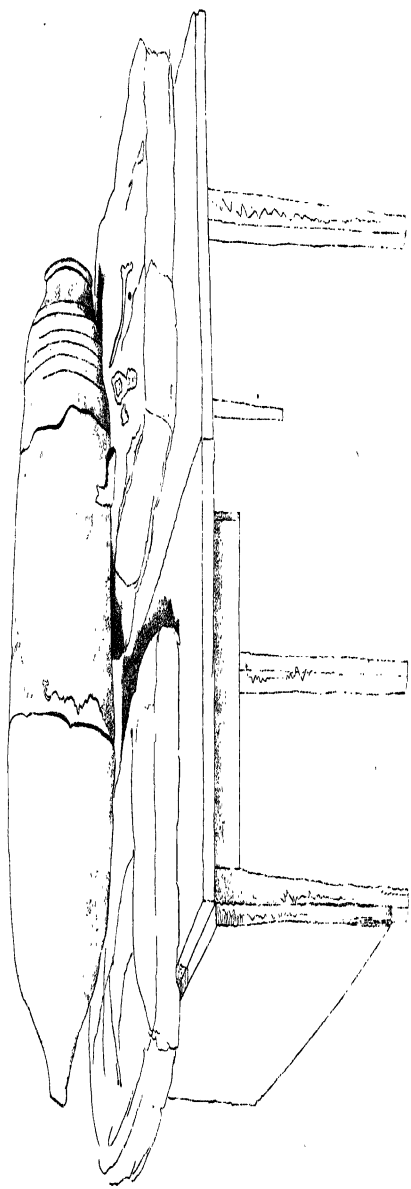
Read 6th July 1813.

I was lately gratified by receiving from Persia two urns containing human bones, which must have been deposited in the ground at a very remote period. In the following pages I have ventured to submit to the Society a few observations that have occurred to me regarding a mode of sepulture, of the existence of which in Persia I had no previous knowledge.

Mr. Bruce writes me from Bushire, on the 14th February 1813: "As I know you are fond of the ancients and their works, I presume you will have no objection to examine some of their remains; I therefore have sent you two boxes, each containing an urn with the bones of a human body. This mode of burial must be very ancient and prior to Zoroaster, as I fancy his followers have not altered their mode to this day. The Mahomedans, we know, never have. I have not touched them, but send them just in the way I found them in the ground. The spot from which they were taken contained five urns—one small one for an infant I suppose—being one family, as this is the way in which they are generally found. They were interred in a straight line lying east and west, the small end to the east. I have examined a great number of these urns, but never met with any that contained coins; I hope you may be more fortunate, as it would lead to a knowledge of the time when this custom prevailed."

In a subsequent letter of the 6th August 1813, in answer to some inquiries, he adds: "In regard to the urns, all
* 192 that I have yet heard of have been found in a flat country, excepting a few that were met with in a * mound about twelve miles from this.† They are generally in numbers

† Dr. A. Jukes informs me that besides such urns, other urns filled with mal-low seed are generally found.



ANCIENT URNS FOUND AT BUSHIRE.

of six, eight, ten, twelve, and so forth, lying in a direct line east and west, and are always near ruins where habitations have been formerly; indeed I met with a number once in a space or compound which was surrounded by buildings half standing."

The urns are both made of a well-baked coarse-grained sandy clay, having a tendency to break off in scales, the whole very much resembling freestone. They are oblong, rudely cylindrical in the middle, one end contracting, and terminating in a circular opening like the mouth of a jar with a rim thicker than the rest of the vessel, while the other end also contracts, but runs out terminating in a thinnish prolonged point. The urns are about three feet in length, and the widest two feet nine inches at its greatest girth, and in thickness varying from half an inch to three-tenths of an inch. The circular opening is in both about three inches three-tenths in diameter, and filled up with a bit of baked clay. When the boxes were opened, one of the urns had divided into two parts, the other into three, as represented in the drawing.† The surface of both the vessels, particularly towards the opening, is slightly marked with circular rings, similar to those observable on vessels turned on the potter's wheel. On opening the urns, they were found to be completely filled with a very fine reddish heavy sand, not lying loose but collected into cohering masses, which contained the bones; a slight odoriferous perfume, somewhat resembling spirit of aniseed, was emitted on breaking these masses. The bones lay in them without any kind of order,—a skull, a leg-bone, and the joints of a finger, for example, occupying the same lump; many of them were broken, and must have been in the same state when put into the urn. There was no appearance of flesh on any of them, nor in the urn; they were very white and rather friable, and have not crumbled down, though now opened and exposed to the air upwards * 198 of a twelvemonth.‡ They * have no appearance of

† They are most accurately delineated in the accompanying drawings, which I owe to my friend Capt. Basil Hall of the Royal Navy.

‡ The same is true, March 1815, when they have been nearly two years exposed.

having ever been exposed to fire. All the bones were huddled together without distinction, each bone being, however, separated from the other by the cohering sand. In the jawbones the teeth were to appearance in good preservation, but friable like the bones: the inside of both the urns was incrustated with a thin black, bituminous substance, which burns when exposed to flame.

In considering to what nation or sect these urns could belong, it is sufficiently clear that they could not belong to Mahomedans, who do not seem ever to have deviated so far from their original customs as to use urns or any other device for preserving the body after the life has forsaken it. The form of the urns (much more resembling the mummies of Egypt than the fine forms of Greek or Roman taste), as well as the uncalcined state of the bones, take away all probability that they could belong to traders or settlers of Greece or Rome; nor does the mode of sepulture in question appear to have been adopted by the Armenians, or any other sect of Christians.

It is well known that the Parsees expose their dead in open towers or tombs, which are round, and built with an elevated platform sloping down toward the centre, where is a hollow receptacle or pit, into which all the bones are promiscuously thrown, after the flesh has been torn from them by vultures or other birds of prey, and when they have been blanched by rain. This usage of the Parsees is not peculiar to Bombay or Nousari. Chardin (vol. viii., pp. 96 and 378)† gives us an account of the place of exposure of the Guebers about half a league from Ispahan. He describes it as a round tower built of large stones, thirty-five feet high by ninety in diameter, without any gate; it is mounted by a ladder, and has also a receptacle in the middle for containing the bones of the deceased after they have been disengaged from the flesh. The same appears to be the practice at Yezd and in other places of Persia, where there are still considerable remains of the Guebers. The description of Chardin very nearly applies to all the *dokhmehs* or places of exposure of the Parsees in different places.

† Langlès' excellent edition.

A passage of Herodotus, however, seems to prove that this promiscuous * huddling of the bones of all the Guebers into one common receptacle was not practised in Persia * 194 in very remote ages. That most correct and intelligent historian, after informing us that certain customs of the Persians, which he had been describing, were perfectly well known to him, adds with his usual caution,† “What relates to their dead, being kept secret, I cannot speak of it with the same certainty; as, for example, that the corpse of a Persian is never interred until it has first been torn by a bird or dog. I know, however, with certainty that this is true of the Magi; for they practise it openly. The Persians afterwards wax up the body and deposit it in the earth.” Strabo confirms this account of Herodotus: “The Persians,” says he, “inter their dead bodies after inclosing them in wax: the Magi do not inter theirs, but leave them to be devoured by the birds.”‡

Larcher, in his remarks on the passage of Herodotus just quoted, observes that Cicero joins in giving this account: “*Persæ etiam cerâ circumlitos condunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora.*” Tusc. i. 45. § “The bodies which were waxed,” says Larcher, “were not therefore torn; or perhaps it was the remains of these dead bodies that were waxed round, or were preserved in natron, and then wrapped up in some folds of cloth, as Sextus Empiricus describes it.¶ The Magi long preserved the exclusive privilege of leaving their bodies a prey to the wild beasts; but, as Fabricius remarks, after Procopius and Agathias, in his note on the passage of Sextus Empiricus quoted, the Persians afterwards abandoned all bodies indiscriminately to the birds and devouring beasts.” Larcher also quotes, p. 426, an epigram of Dioscorides, in which Euphrates, a Persian, requests his master not to burn his corpse, but to wrap it up and consign it to the earth without pouring water

† Herodot., lib. i., cap. 140, pp. 5, 7, ed. Gronov.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv.

§ Hist. d'Hérodote, vol. i., p. 425, dans les notes.

¶ Sext. Empiric. Pyrrhon. Hypolyto, lib. iii., cap. 24, p. 185.

on it. All these requests are meant to prevent the elements from being defiled.

From these quotations, it seems evident that the Persians in very re* mote times did not universally follow the mode * 195 of sepulture now in use by their descendants, the followers of Zertûsht; but that, after the birds or dogs had torn part of their bodies, the remains were wrapped up and consigned to the earth. Herodotus and Strabo mention the fact of their being waxed, and Sextus Empiricus that of their being inclosed in bitumen. It seems not improbable that the urns found at Bushire contain the remains of two ancient Persian fire-worshippers; the bones were probably those of poor people, who used an urn of baked clay as a cheap and effectual method of excluding the elements; and the bones were not probably deposited in them till they had been blanchéd and purified by the exposure of the corpse to the air, and to birds and beasts of prey.

At what time the Persians first abandoned all bodies, those of the people as well as of the Magi, indiscriminately to the birds and beasts, does not appear: several changes did certainly take place at different periods in the religion of Zoroaster; and though the *dokhmehs* or general tombs are mentioned in writings of great antiquity, I know no evidence of their universality till the final triumph of the religion of Zoroaster.

In the Desâtér, a work which exists as a riddle in Persian antiquities, the body is allowed to be disposed of in various ways after death. "Deposit the corpse in a vase of aquafortis, or in fire, or in earth; and after a death read the Desâtér and give an alms to the true believers, that the soul of the departed may attain beatitude; for in the sight of Mizdam † nothing is more pleasing than charity."‡ The ancient commentator remarks: "Those of the true faith act, regarding the dead, in the following

† The great Yezdan or god.

‡ نامستار را دم هرگار با در آب یا مالدورد یا اولجان پانثريد فيز ما
ستار دساتير ناياند و چميز فرشيران مهيد داورا فركونوني رسد
سميار مزدام بهراماس فركونونتر بهز فلاب لاد

manner. After the soul has left the body, they wash it in pure water, and dress it in clean and perfumed vestments; they then put the corpse in a vase of aquafortis, and when the body is dissolved, carry the liquid to * some place far from the city, and pour it out, or otherwise they burn it, attired * 196 as it is, in the fire; or they construct a dome and make a deep pit within it, strengthen and whiten it with stone, brick, and mud; on the edges of it they form places and platforms on which they range the dead: or they bury a vase in the earth and inclose the corpse in it, or bury a coffin in the ground;—but the best of all these means in the estimation of the Fersendajians † was to use the vase of aquafortis.” § Leaving the question regarding the age and authenticity of that singular work for examination at a future time, I shall at present only assume that a Parsee wishing to forge sacred writings would avail himself of whatever historical knowledge remained regarding the ages in which the holy book was supposed to be communicated. In this point of view, the mode of disposing of the dead described both in the text and commentary, while they differ extremely from that now in use, which probably has always been practised while the religion of Zertûst was in force, reflects considerable light on the facts given us by Herodotus, as well as on the epigram of Dioscorides. It is plain from the

† Tabûl.

‡ True believers of the ancient religion of Mah-Abad.

§ آنچه فرسند اچیان در باره مرده کرده اند آنست که پس از جدای روان تن را باب پاک شویند و جامه‌های نیکو و بویا درد پوشانند پس نیکو نه تن او را در خم نند آب اندازند چون گداخته شود آن ابر آبیای دور از شهر برده ریزند در نه بدین آرایش باتش سوزانند یا کابذه سازند دردن آن جامی بهین کنند و انرا ترا بنگ وحشت و ریش استوار و شغید سازند و در کند ازهای آن جایا باشد و تختها گذاشته مرده را بر افراز تخت خدا بانند یا خم در خاک فرو برند و در آن مرده را جادهند یا نا بود بزمین نهان سازند را بیشتر بدان فرسند اچیان کار کردند ی خم نند آب بود

narrative of Herodotus, that a religion new to a great part of the Persian empire was then forcing its way. The

* Magi seem to have been an object of terror in some
* 197 provinces; it was not probably till their power was firmly established, that the common and promiscuous tomb became universal, as from the testimony of Procopius and Agathias it appears to have done. In the instance of Euphrates, a Persian slave in a foreign country, who could not secure the ceremonies of his own religion to his dead body, requests that at least no more defilement of the elements should take place than was absolutely necessary: that the fire, the great object of reverence, should not be violated; that the water which if it flows communicates pollution, or if restrained corrupts and diffuses it to the air also, might not be defiled; but that his body might be wrapped up and deposited in the earth, whereby the elements would suffer the least defilement.

It is from comparing these texts, therefore, that I am of opinion that the urns in question contained the bones of Persians, whose bodies were deposited in them while the usages described by Herodotus and the commentator on the *Desâtér* were in force, before the whole of Persia was reduced to a strict observance of the religion of Zertúsht. In such inquiries, however, there is always considerable uncertainty, particularly when the inquiry relates to a country in which there were so many obscure heresies as there appear to have been in Persia at various eras of its history.

[NOTE.—Writers on Babylonian antiquities, who have discovered cemeteries containing multitudes of these *clay coffins*, here called *sepulchral urns*, believe that the whole body was inserted, and then the only aperture which the receptacle had was closed. The drawings they give are *exactly* like those here shown (see Layard and others *after* his time); from this view Mr. Erskine differs, for he says (p. 192): “The bones lay in them without any kind of order, a skull—a leg-bone, and the joint of a finger, for example, occupying the same lump; many of them were broken, and must have been in the same state when put into the urn.” This may be true, but it is also possible that, considering the decay and shrinking which took place during a long period, the contents of the coffins were not only much reduced in size, but became so friable that the mere transport from one locality to another, their loading and

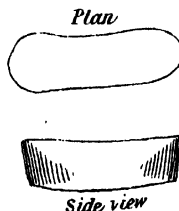
unloading, alone, were sufficient to produce breakage and confusion. (G. Rawlinson gives drawings, and expressly states that the bodies were put in whole.) Among the Zoroastrians separate skeletons can never be buried, for the simple reason that because in their Dokhmahs many corpses remain on the platform, until nothing except their bones remains, which are then promiscuously and altogether swept down by the Nasu-sállárs into the bottom of the dry well in the centre of the platform.

Of the authenticity of the *Desdtir*, now well known to be a literary forgery, Mr. Erskine himself appears to have doubted (see p. 196 [1st ed.], lines 8 *seq.*, and see also vol. II. of the *Transactions*, Article XVI., by Mr. Erskine himself). The so-called translation or comment given in Persian of the Mahabadian fabulous language of the *Desdtir* نابود بن زمین "they bury a coffin in the ground," must fall away as unreliable; so that there is scarcely any probability that these coffins of Bushire contained the bodies of Zoroastrians, although it cannot be denied that at least in modern times there are cases on record in which Parsees have been buried in coffins, *e.g.* in England and in China.

In countries where wood is an expensive article and pottery cheap, it is no wonder that the latter has been resorted to for coffins; and both the Bushire ones, as well as the Babylonian ones, which, as I have already above observed, are *identical* in shape, were used by common people; as a regular cemetery has been discovered in which they are heaped on each other, and in which the wandering Arabs still amuse themselves by breaking open the coffins in order to get at some objects of value, such as rings, jewels, or coins.

Since the abolition of the Indian Navy, neither Hymaritic nor Arabic inscriptions, nor coffins, nor any other objects of curiosity are brought by naval officers from Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Nearly 25 years ago Mr. Rehatsek made a drawing of a clay coffin for Dr. Wilson, which he described in the *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As.*

Soc. This coffin looked like a large bathing-tub, and the plan was rounded off without any angles, but it arrived in Bombay without a lid. The coffin was for a long time kept in the Town Hall, but can no longer be seen; it was very roomy indeed, and had not the shape of a large cylinder worm-like those from Babylon and Bushire: it may have been the last resting-place of some great man—perhaps a Hymaritic Arab, as it came from Southern Arabia.—Ed.].



* 198

* XV.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAVE-TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA,

WITH A PLAN AND DRAWINGS OF THE PRINCIPAL FIGURES.

BY WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.

Read November 2, 1813.

Few remains of antiquity in the East have excited greater curiosity than the cave-temples of the Hindûs. History does not record any fact that can guide us in fixing the period of their excavation, and many opposite opinions have been formed regarding the religion of the people by whom they were made. As nothing directly elucidating their origin or object can be gathered from history or tradition, it only remains practicable to form some probable conjectures on the subject by a comparison of their present appearance with such circumstances as we have been able to ascertain regarding the modern or more ancient religions of the Hindûs. And as some of these excavations have evidently been formed by men differing from each other in their mythological opinions, if we would examine them with any degree of success, for the purpose of discovering to which particular sect any one of them belongs, it is previously necessary to comprehend something of the various religions which have prevailed in this country.

It is well known that all India from the earliest times has been divided among three grand sects—the Brahminical, Boudhist, and Jaina—all of them differing in their tenets and ceremonies.

The question regarding the relative antiquity of these different sects is one chiefly of curiosity. The Brahminical seems to establish the best claim to be considered as the most ancient. All of these sects, with many tenets in common, have also opinions that separate them widely from each other. The Brahminical religion, in its secret and esoteric doctrines,

approaches nearly to pure deism : but the popular faith is extremely different. The learned Brahmins adore one * 199 God without form or quality, eternal, unchangeable, and occupying all space ; but they carefully confine these doctrines to their own schools as dangerous, and teach in public a religion in which, in supposed compliance with the infirmities and passions of human nature, the Deity is brought more to a level with our prejudices and wants ;—the incomprehensible attributes ascribed to him are invested with sensible and even human forms. The mind, lost in meditation on the divine nature, and fatigued in the pursuit of something which being divested of all sensible qualities suffers the thoughts to wander without finding a resting-place, is happy, they tell us, in the room of this unknowable and incomprehensible being, to have an object on which human feelings and human senses may again find repose. To give a metaphysical Deity to ignorant and sensual men, absorbed in the cares of supporting animal existence, and entangled in the impediments of matter, would be to condemn them to atheism. Such is the mode in which the Brahmins excuse the gross idolatry of their religion : their mythology is a strange compound of popular stories, in the greater part of which a divine being assumes a human form and lives among men. The great supreme being, Brimh, remains in holy obscurity, and mythology is never allowed to profane his name, which is always kept free from fictions. Three energies, however, — the creative, the preserving, and destroying, — are embodied under the names of Bramha, Vishnu, and Shiva, to each of whom a female or passive energy is given : these have all human forms, diversified in various ways by an active imagination ; and as the two latter are supposed to have descended many times, to have been incarnated on earth in different ages and in various shapes, each different incarnation or *avatar* furnishes a different deity, to whom worship is addressed. Bramha alone of the three has no variety of incarnations and is never worshipped. Some of these *avatars* are supposed to have been incarnations of the whole god ; others are only considered as incarnations of a portion of his divinity.

Besides these three great gods, however, there is a large crowd of minor deities. The wind, the sea, the elements, have their gods; the sun, moon, *and stars, every river and * 200 fountain, is either a deity, or has a deity to preside over it; nothing is done but by or through a god. The greater gods have, besides, a numerous class of dependants and servants; and human passions being once bestowed on the deities, heaven has its physician, its poet, and its dancing-girls, as well as the earth.

In this great crowd of deities there is no man, however capricious or humble, that may not find some divinity, or portion of the divinity, suited to his humour or self-humiliation. If a man find some difficulty in approaching Râm, that god's monkey servant, Hanumant, may however claim his worship: a little red paint thrown on a stone or the stump of a tree converts it into a god, and all the lower classes that pass fall down and worship.

Yet it deserves notice, that even in this apparent degradation of the human intellect, if you ask one of the lowest of these unfortunate beings how many gods there are, you will be immediately answered, One God only; and will, I think, discover, that though they pay religious adoration to stocks and stones, from some superstitious belief that a portion of divinity resides in them, they never confound these subordinate objects of worship with the one great God, the supposed creator and preserver of the universe, but whom they consider as too mighty for them to venture to approach.

When the Brahmins are taxed with idolatry, they always excuse themselves, as has been already remarked, by alleging the necessity of making an impression on rude minds by means of some intelligible symbols, on which the ignorant may fix their thoughts, and to which they may look for reward or punishment.

As in many of their incarnations the gods are supposed to have appeared with several heads, with the heads of animals, with a number of hands, and other singularities, their images in the temples correctly represent all these peculiarities.

All Brahminical excavations that I have observed are flat-roofed within, and most of them incline to a square, though they frequently have an oblong figure.

*The religion of the Bouddhists differs very greatly from that of the Brahmins; as in the latter, God is introduced everywhere,—in the former, he is introduced nowhere. * 201

The gods of the Brahmins pervade and animate all nature; the god of the Bouddhists, like the god of the Epicureans, remains in repose, quite unconcerned about human affairs, and therefore is not the object of worship. With them there is no intelligent divine being who judges of human actions as good or bad, and rewards or punishes them as such;—this indeed is practically the same as having no God. Good and ill, according to their creed, are however supposed to spring invariably from virtue and vice; there being as they believe an inseparable and necessary connexion between virtue and prosperity, vice and misfortune. Yet, as the mind of man must have some object of confidence on which to rest its hopes and to which to direct its supplication and prayer, they teach that from time to time men of surpassing piety and self-denial have appeared on the earth, and from their singular worth have after death been transferred to a state of superior bliss; which state, however, they say that we can only intimate by describing it as an absence of all pain, as we can only define health as an absence of all disease. These saints or prophets, after reforming the world in their lifetime, and by their superior sanctity attaining the power of performing miracles, are still imagined after death to have certain powers of influencing us. It is these men transferred by death to bliss who are the object of Bouddhist worship. This worship assumes different forms in different countries, and is by some supposed to be more widely diffused than any other religion. In Siam it is chiefly paid to Godoma or Sommona-Codom: but it is worthy of remark, that wherever this form of religion prevails in its original state, the relics of these holy men or saints are the objects of worship. The largest temples are often in the form of a pyramid or of the section of a globe, and are supposed to contain a tooth, hair, or other relic of the saint. The forms

of these holy places have been adopted from the custom prevalent in these countries of depositing the ashes of the deceased under a pyramid or globular mound: the pyramids are often of great size, and on their summits are umbrellas which are frequently * adorned with bells; sometimes this pyramid is * 202 gilded over. Other temples of nearly similar construction, but hollow within, contain images to which adoration is directed. The images of these saints have different attitudes, sometimes sitting cross-legged in a meditative posture, sometimes standing upright.

As all the ideas of this religion relate to men, and as no incarnations or transformations of superior beings are recorded, it is obvious that in their temples we can expect to find no unnatural images, no figures compounded of man and beast, no monster with many hands or many heads.

As the priests and scholars of the Bouddhists live in a sort of collegiate establishment near some great temples, we shall find a multitude of such cells around the excavation in their cave-temples; and while all such cells are flat-roofed, the great temple is supported on two rows of pillars with aisles, and is uniformly vaulted and oblong.

The third sect that is prevalent in India is that of the Jainas. These bear a very great resemblance to the Bouddhists in their religious doctrines: they believe that there is a God, but affirm that he can be known only by such as become absorbed in his essence;—that therefore a person knowing God ceases to possess identity; that hence it is absurd for a human being to pretend to know him: the moment you discover him, your identity ceases. They deny that God was ever incarnated; and, like the Bouddhists, believe that men by their virtuous conduct become omniscient, and may thus be considered as infallible. They hold that since the beginning of time only twenty-four such superior beings have appeared for the reformation of mankind; these they style the *Tirthankars*. Their priests, the *Jatis*, not only never put anything to death, but never eat anything which has had life. The Jainas resemble the Hindús in having castes, which the Bouddhists have not. In the Mysúr and the south

of India the Jainas admit also certain of the Hindû deities into the courts of their temples ; which is never done, as far as I can learn, either in Bombay, the Mahratta country, Guzerat, or Marwad, in all of which places there are numbers of Jainas.

In all the Jaina temples, therefore, such images as are peculiar to the * Jaina worship are human, and distinguished only by symbols. The whole twenty-four holy saints * 203 are usually represented in one piece, and no worship is paid to their relics, nor are they placed under pyramids. There are however many sects of Jainas, some professing to adhere strictly to the doctrines of one saint of the *Tirthankars*, others to those of another. I am not aware that any Jaina caverns have ever been discovered.

These few observations it was necessary to make before proceeding to lay before the Society an account of the various cave-temples on this side of India. Few as they are, a strict attention to them will perhaps enable us to judge with ease to which of these three classes any particular temple belongs. Any monster, any figure partly human partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads or hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship.† The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids or semi-globes, and of simple human figures sitting cross-legged or standing in a meditative posture, as certainly shows the excavation to be Bouddhist. The twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid prove a temple to be Jaina.

The chief cave-temples on this side of India are those of Elephanta, Salsette, Carli, and Ellora.

It may perhaps seem superfluous to add another to the many accounts which have been given by travellers of the cave-temple of Elephanta ; and yet if we examine all of these descriptions with some attention, it will appear that they are defective in various particulars. The earlier travellers were ignorant of the mythology to which the different figures sculptured in the caves belonged ;—the later either visited them in too much haste to be able to examine with accuracy what they saw, or were too

† This observation relates to India alone.

imperfectly informed to be able to comprehend its tendency. When the accurate Niebuhr was in Bombay, the mythology of the Hindûs, to which this excavation belongs, was almost unknown to Europeans; and yet his account is the best that has hitherto been given of Elephanta.

The mythology of the Hindûs bears a very striking similarity in many respects to that of Greece and Rome. In both we see a crowd of gods, * whose history we must learn not * 204 from any grave or sober theological record, but from the fanciful and discordant fables of poets, who believed that they had a perfectly good right to invent the wildest fictions regarding their divinities; while every such fancy of the poet became in its turn a fact in the history of the god, and a matter of popular belief. In the mythology of all these countries, we find not merely the grossest absurdities, but, in numerous instances, direct contradictions; yet both stories go current, and the worshipper with perfect indifference adopts either story, or both, as he finds it most convenient.

No very effectual effort seems to have been made in either country to refine or rationalize, for popular use, the religion of the state: and this perhaps was owing to two reasons. In the first place, The constitution of the government, both in the ancient states and in modern India, had a direct reference to the established religion, which always has a very powerful influence on the peculiar form of civil society; and any attempt to change the one would have been opposed (and in some instances really was opposed) as dangerous to the other. The second reason was, That all men who pretended to learning or science treated the popular religion with external reverence and inward contempt. With the ancient Greeks and Romans, as with the modern Hindûs, the question was not, What is the religion of a man of letters? but, What system of philosophy does he profess? The former were Academics or Epicureans, as the latter are Vedanta or Siddhanta, Niaya or Nastik; but all of them regarding alike the popular belief as a cunningly devised fable, as an idle tale made to work on the passions and affect the conduct of the vulgar, who from their prejudices and ignorance are not

under the guidance of reason :—hence, too, in neither religion was there ever the smallest desire of proselytism. The learned regarded all religion as merely a device of the legislator: the vulgar, believing in local religions, and that it was not necessary that all should have the same belief, imagined that a man's religion was imposed upon him by his birth in a particular country or caste, and was as necessary and unchangeable a part of him as his colour or stature :—with such ideas there was no room for proselytism. The *god to whom their offerings * were made, favoured or punished them, not in general as they acted morally right or wrong,—for the religion * 205 both of the ancients and of the Hindûs seems to have little connexion with morals,—but in proportion to the richness of their offerings, and the constant and painful devotion with which they frequented his temples or chanted his praise.

It does not appear that the religion of the Hindûs, any more than that of the ancient nations of Greece and Italy, was formed into a system all at once, or indeed at any time exhibited what could deserve the name of a system. The popular fictions and belief grew up from accident, and were retained in later times because they had existed before,—there was no period at which any check was put to the invention of the poets: they always retained their right of adding new fables concerning their gods to the old ones. In India, it would appear that the further back we go, we find the religion more nearly approximating to the belief of a single god † :—the religion of the Vedas, the most ancient we know of among the Hindûs, is very free from legends; and the different deities mentioned in them seem in general to be a personification of the elements. The lower down we come, the number of the mythological fictions increases more and more; and the Purânas are filled with the wildest fancies that the human imagination can conceive,—metamorphoses as strange as those of Ovid, without their elegance.

A very slight inspection of the figures in Elephanta may convince us that the different statues were carved after the

† See Colebrooke's most learned paper on the Vedas, *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii.

- religion of the Purânas had made a considerable progress. The total absence of any legends regarding the Ling, Shakti, Râm, or Krishna, from every part of the Vedas that is regarded as genuine, has led Mr. Colebrooke† to believe that the sects which profess a peculiar adoration of Shiva, Parvati, and Vishnû in these forms, are of considerably later origin than these venerable volumes; that, in particular, the sects which now worship Râm and Krishna as incarnations of Vishnû are comparatively modern; and that the worship of these deities by the Vaishnavas, and of Mahaleo and Bhavani by the Shaivas

* and Shaktis, has been introduced since the persecution of the Bouddhas and Jainas. If this be the case,

these sects are probably not much above eight hundred years old:‡ and as it will appear in the course of this paper that the cavern of Elephanta is a temple dedicated to Shiva and Shakti, and consequently excavated posterior to the formation of these sects, it would follow that the caverns of Elephanta do not possess the antiquity that is generally supposed. Of this, however, strong doubts may be entertained.

It seems to be well established, both from historical traditions and from comparing with each other the grand excavations still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Bombay and in the country of the Mahrattas, that in former times there existed in these countries two powerful sects professing very different opinions. The excavations of Kanara and Carli evidently belong to the Bouddhists, as those of Elephanta and Amboli belong to the Brahmins; while Ellora possesses excavations of both classes. The differences in the form of the temples, the figure, attire, and attributes of the statues, and in the various particulars which have been mentioned above, constitute a marked distinction between the two classes of temples: but the most striking circumstance is that while no Brahmin can enter a temple of the one class without exclaiming that it is sacred to Shiva, and being able to point out many of the other gods by their com-

† *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii., p. 474, quarto edn.

‡ *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii., p. 487.

mon and familiar attributes, no person exists in the country who is able to give even an idea of the nature or purpose of the other class of temples, or of the religious sects to which they belonged,—so complete has been the extirpation of the Bouddhists from the west of India. For all illustration of the history and use of their cave-temples, we are forced to resort to Ceylon and Siam.

The celebrated caves of Elephanta† are situated in the beautiful island* of that name, which is called by the * 207 natives *Gara-pori*: it lies in the bay of Bombay, about seven miles from Bombay Castle and five miles from the Mahratta shore. It is nearly six miles in circumference, and is composed of two long hills with a narrow valley between them. The usual landing-place is towards the south, where the valley is broadest.

About two hundred and fifty yards to the right of the landing-place, on the rising side of one of the hills not far from a ruined Portuguese edifice, stands a large and clumsy elephant cut out of an insulated black rock;—from this the island has taken its present name. The elephant has a fissure running through its back, which is separated so that the back has sunk

† The principal accounts of Elephanta with which I am acquainted are contained in the following works:—1. Fryer's Account of East India and Persia, folio, p. 72.—2. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i., p. 241, 8vo.—3. An Account of some Artificial Caverns in the Neighbourhood of Bombay, by Mr. William Hunter, Surgeon in the East Indies. *Archæologia*, vol. vii., pp. 280-302.—4. Account of a curious Pagoda near Bombay: drawn up by Captain Pyke, who was afterwards Governor of St. Helena. It is dated from on board the Stringer East-Indiaman in Bombay harbour, 1712, and is illustrated with drawings. This extract was made from the Captain's journal, in possession of the Honourable the East India Company, by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., F.R. and A. S. *Archæologia*, vol. vii., 323-332.—5. An Account of the Caves of Cannara, Ambola, and Elephanta, in the East Indies; in a Letter from Hector Macneil, Esq. (then at Bombay), to a Friend in England: dated 1783. *Archæologia*, vol. vii., pp. 251-289.—6. *Zendavesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c.*, Discours préliminaire, tome i., part 2, p. 419, 4to.—7. Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, 2 vols. 8vo.—8. Ives's *Travels*, 4to.—9. *Voyages de Niobuhr*, tome ii., p. 10, 4to.—10. Some Account of the Cave in the Island of Elephanta, by J. Goldingham, Esq., in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.—11. Lord Valentia's *Travels*, vol. ii.—And 12. Some Observations on Moor's Hindû Pantheon.

a little downward upon the fore-flank. Captain Pyke, in his account of the Caves, written in 1712†, mentions that this elephant had a smaller one on its back. An engraving of both as they stood at that time may be found in the *Archæologia*; from which it appears that even then the fissure had begun to appear, and had nearly reached upwards to the top of the back. Anquetil ‡ describes the young elephant as existing in 1760, when he visited Elephanta. § Niebuhr || observes, that the large * elephant had on its back something which age had worn * 208 so much that it was impossible to distinguish what it was, and that the larger elephant was split, and even then (1764) expected to fall to pieces. The figure is poorly sculptured, but at a distance and seen through the brushwood may easily be mistaken for a real elephant. ¶

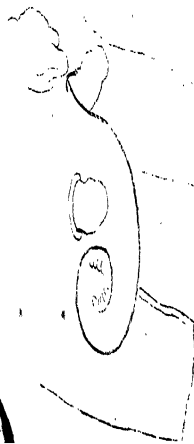
† *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 323.

‡ *Zendavesta*, vol. i., p. 423.

§ It is remarkable that Anquetil, who claimed such a thorough knowledge of Hindû mythology, did not know that in visiting Elephanta he was visiting a Hindû temple. Many palpable instances of his ignorance of Sanscrit might be given. In vol. i., p. 368, of his *Zendavesta*, he says that he made the three best Sanscrit dictionaries be copied;—one of these he calls *Viakeren*. Every novice in Sanscrit knows that this must have been a grammar, and not a dictionary. Anquetil's great merit was that of an enterprising traveller; as an Oriental scholar his rank is very low. The nation which possesses Silvestre de Sacy may easily resign Anquetil du Perron.

|| Vol. ii., p. 33.

¶ In September 1814 (after the above was written) the head and neck of the elephant at last dropped off, and the body of the elephant has since sunk down and threatens to fall. I had, however, in the November preceding, taken an accurate measurement of all its dimensions in company with Captain Basil Hall of the Royal Navy, to whose friendship I owe the annexed very accurate drawing of its appearance at that time. (Plate I.) It seems to have been formed of a detached mass of blackish rock, which is unconnected with any stratum below. By applying a ladder we mounted on the back of the elephant for the purpose of observing if any traces remained of the young elephant, said by Pyke and Anquetil to have been placed on it. The remains of its four paws, as well as the marks of the junction of its belly with the back of the larger animal, were perfectly distinct; and the appearance it offered is represented in the annexed drawing made by Captain Hall (Plate II.), who from its present appearance conjectures that it must have been a tiger rather than a young elephant—an idea in which I feel disposed to agree, in spite of the opinion of Pyke and Anquetil, who call the figure which they saw a young elephant—as well on account of the sprawling appearance of the animal, as because the back



CAVE OF ELEPHANTA.

Leaving the spot and advancing up the valley, which narrows as we proceed, about the spot where the two hills approach each other, and where a steep narrow pass begins to wind

of the mother is a very unnatural situation for a young elephant; and because the supposition of its being a tiger would correspond much better with the popular legends of the Hindus.

Captain Hall's words are as follow :—

“The smaller figure on the top of the elephant cannot have been a young elephant, it must have represented some animal capable of being placed in a sprawling attitude : it gives the idea of a tiger with its limbs extended so as to embrace the elephant's back, and the whole of the belly of the tiger brought in contact with the elephant. It is inconceivable how an elephant (as it is said to have been) could possibly bring itself to this posture.

“The two hind-feet present an appearance of hoofs, the right fore-foot is entirely gone ; the left fore-foot is more extended—advancing, too, further towards the great elephant's head than the right. It has the appearance of a hoof with some faint indications of claws, particularly on the outer part of the fetlock-joint, which seems furnished with a spur or curved claw : there is a manifest hollow circle or smaller part at the connexion of the foot and leg.”

As it is to be feared that no remains of this gigantic animal will soon be left, the following particular measurement is subjoined :—

	Feet.	In.
Length from the forehead to the root of the tail	13	2
Height at the head	7	4
Circumference of the whole animal at the height of the shoulders	35	5
Circumference of the animal round the four legs	32	0
Breadth of the back across the rump	8	0
Girth of the body about the middle	20	2
Height of the left hind-foot	5	6
Circumference of the right fore-foot	6	7½
———— right hind-foot	6	3
———— left hind-foot	7	7
———— left fore-foot	7	3
Height of the supporter left in the stone to sustain the belly.....	2	2
Length of the tail	7	9
Circumference of the tail	2	10
Distance from the top of the brow to the curve of the trunk	5	3
Length of the trunk from between the tusks.....	7	10
Right tusk	0	11
Left tusk	0	6

The dimensions of the remains of the figure on the back of the large elephant were :—

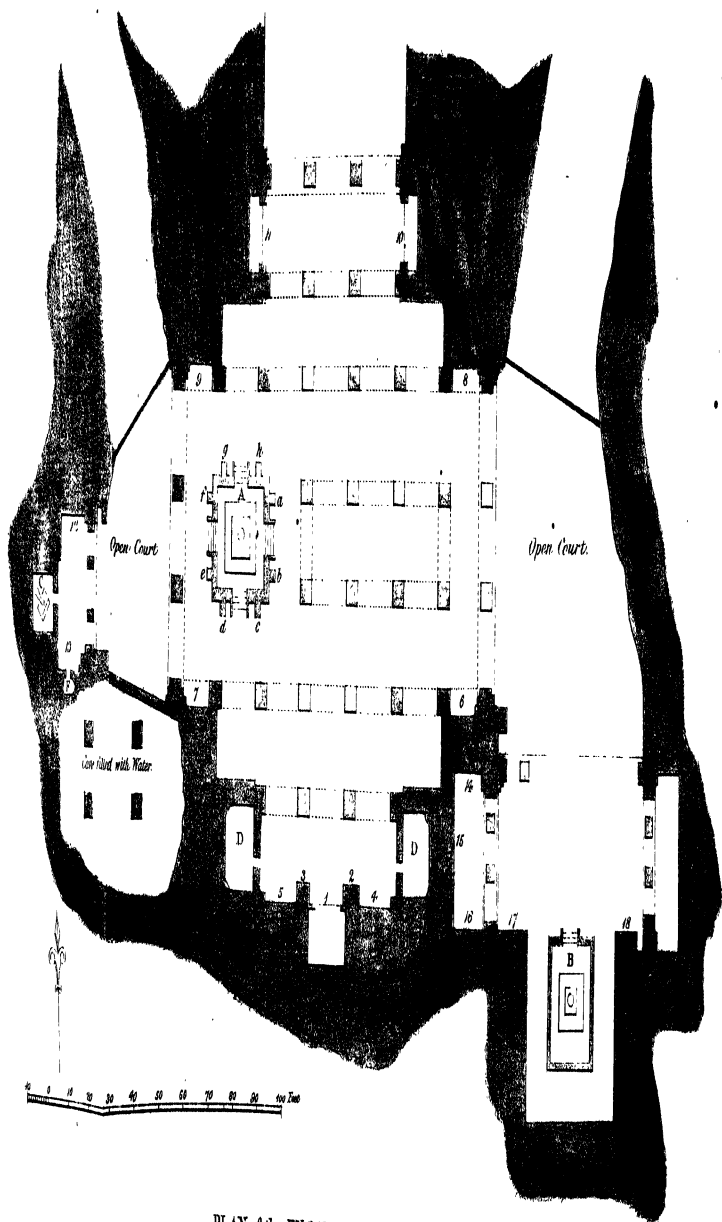
Length of the smaller animal	4	7
Distance of the two hind-hoofs	3	6
Breadth of the body	1	2

between them, there formerly was the statue of a horse carved of stone ; which Fryer in 1678 found “ stuck up to the belly in the earth” in the valley. It still remained in * 1712, * 209 and a drawing of it appears in the *Archæologia* ; it had, however, disappeared before Dr. Hunter visited the island, which must have been previous to 1784 ; and no vestige of it can now be traced.

Ascending the narrow path where the two hills are knit together, we at length come to a beautiful and rich prospect of the northern part of the island, of the sea, and the opposite shores of Salsette. Advancing forward, and keeping to the left along the bend of the hill, we gradually mount to an open space, and come suddenly on the grand entrance of a magnificent temple, whose huge massy columns seem to give support to the whole mountain which rises above it. The effect of the first view of the stupendous excavation is excessively hurt by a wretched wall recently built for the purpose of preserving the figures from dilapidation : but the Government * 210 having now put the place under the charge of a small guard, the wall has already become quite unnecessary, and every principle of propriety and good taste demands its immediate demolition.

The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone† resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massy pillars and two pilasters forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns that appear closing in perspective on every side, the flat roof of solid rock that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are pressed down and flattened as if by the superincumbent weight, the darkness that obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances, and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic stone figures ranged along

† I have in vain examined every spot at the entrance of the cave for a Persian inscription mentioned by Mr. Macneil. (See *Archæologia*, vol. viii., p. 279.) Indeed it is of no moment, as it must have been modern, and could throw no light on the history of the place.



PLAN of the EXCAVATION at ELEPHANTA.

the wall and hewn like the whole temple out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of the place—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated.

The whole excavation consists of three principal parts: the great temple itself which is in the centre, and two smaller chapels, one on each side of the great temple. These two chapels do not come forward into a straight line with the front of the chief temple, are not perceived on approaching the temple, and are considerably in recess, being approached by two narrow passes in the hill, one on each side of the grand entrance but at some distance from it. After advancing to some distance up these confined passes, we find each of them conduct to another front of the grand excavation, exactly like the principal front which is first seen, all the three fronts being hollowed out of the solid rock, and each consisting of two huge pillars with two pilasters. The two side fronts are precisely opposite to each other on the east and west, the grand entrance facing the north. The two wings of * 211 the temple are at the upper end of these passages, and are close by the grand excavation, but have no covered passage to connect them with it. A very correct general idea of the whole may be gained from the accompanying ground-plan,† for which I am indebted to Charles Daw, Esq., now at Aurungabad.‡

† Plate III.

‡ *Memorandum by Mr. Daw respecting the Plan.*

Of this plan it is necessary to observe, that the whole of the measurements are not quite faithfully delineated, and that for the following reasons:—

In Hindoo excavations, it constantly happens that the corresponding parts vary a little in all their proportions: and although the variations are not in general considerable enough to be obviously apparent at the first view, yet on taking accurate measurements it appears that no two parts exactly correspond. This is found (though in a smaller degree) to be the case in the excavations at Ellora as well as at Elephanta.

*The great temple is about one hundred and thirty feet * 212 and a half long, measuring from the chief entrance to the furthest end of the cave, and one hundred and thirty-three feet broad from the eastern to the western entrance. It rests on twenty-six pillars (eight of them now broken) and sixteen pilasters; and neither the floor nor the roof being in one plane, it varies in height from seventeen and a half to fifteen feet. The plan is regular, there being eight pillars and pilasters in a line from the northern entrance to the southern extreme of the temple, and the same number from the eastern to the western entrances. The only striking deviation from this.

The ground-plan is drawn on the supposition that the parts correspond, and for which a medium has been taken of the differences that occur. The very large scale on which it would have been necessary to draw it with all the exact differences, is the reason why a smaller and more convenient form has been adopted: and as it appeared more necessary to give a general idea of the whole than to attend to the minutiae of parts, it only becomes necessary to make the following remarks, to enable the reader to judge with precision of the difference between the plan and the excavation itself.

The left side of the cave, that is the side on which the square temple is situated, is one hundred and thirty-three feet eight inches in length, while the right side is only one hundred and twenty-eight feet four inches. Variations of this kind are observable in every other part;—some of the pillars are situated from each other at a distance only of twelve feet ten inches, others are separated to sixteen feet four inches and a half; some of them at fifteen feet three inches, others at thirteen feet two inches, others at fourteen feet three inches, and so on: nor is the size of the pillars themselves less various; the side of the pedestals being some of them three feet three inches, and others three feet four inches, others three feet five inches, and others three feet six inches.

Those pillars which have been destroyed, are pointed out in the plan by their base having no lines on them.

The entrance to the cave is from the northward, and the principal chamber runs almost duly north and south.

The area on the western side is filled with stones and dirt that have been washed down from the mountain during the rains; and it now not only occupies the area itself, but encroaches on the large cave nearly as far as the second range of pillars from the westward.

The area on the eastern side is also very much in the same way; there are several very large pieces of the rock fallen in, as well as the dirt which has been washed down by the rain. The area on its northern side is bounded by a wall, which appears to be of very modern date. On the southern part of this area there is a spring of very fine water, over which, a little to the right, is a small unfinished room of irregular shape.

regularity in the chief temple, is the small square excavation (marked A) that is seen as we go up the temple on the right; it occupies the place of four pillars and of the intermediate space† inclosed between them, as if a veil had been drawn around them, and the spot so inclosed divided from the rest of the temple. At the further extremity there are two small excavations facing each other, the one on the right, the other on the left; their use is not well ascertained :‡ they were probably employed for keeping the holy utensils and offerings. The excavation presents to the eye the appearance of perfect regularity, which it is not found to possess when accurately examined.

The pillars, which all appear to run in straight lines parallel to each other, and at equal distances, are crossed by other ranges running at right angles in the opposite direction; they are strong and massy, of an order remarkably well adapted to their situation and the purpose which they are to serve, and have an appearance of very considerable elegance. They are not all of the same form, but differ both in their size and ornaments, though this difference also does not at first strike the eye. They rise to * upwards of half their height from a square pedestal, generally about three feet five inches each way, * 213 crowned on the top by a broad bandage of the same shape: above this, but divided from it by a circular astragal and two polygonic fillets, rises a short round fluted shaft, forming about a fourth of the column and diminishing with a curve towards the top, where a circular cincture of beads binds round it a fillet composed of an ornament resembling leaves, or rather cusps, the lower extremity of which appears below the cincture, while the superior extremity rises above, projecting and terminating gracefully in a circle of overhanging leaves or cusps. A narrow band divides this ornament from the round fluted compressed cushion, which may be regarded as the capital of the

† The circumference is ninety-five feet, which is nearly the same as the circumference of any four of the pillars.

‡ They are rather irregular; the eastern chamber is about eighteen feet from E. to W., and eighteen feet seven inches from N. to S. The western chamber is nineteen feet from E. to W., and nineteen feet three inches from N. to S.

column, and as giving it its character: its fluted form coalesces beautifully with the fluted shaft below. This cushion has its circumference bound by a thin flat band or fillet, as if to retain it; and above supports a square plinth, on which rests the architrave that slopes away on each side in scrolls connected by a band or ribband, till it meets the large transverse beam of rock which connects the range of pillars. All of them, except the two outer ranges at the chief entrance, the first range at the eastern and western entrances, and the range next to the great triad, have small figures of Ganesht† and of Hartik on the top of each of the four corners of the pedestal: but a far more distinct idea of the whole may be formed from the beautiful and most accurate drawing annexed,‡ than from any description.

An account of the different figures that surround the wall, though a tedious, is a conclusive mode of taking away all doubt as to the religion to which the excavation belongs. I must claim the indulgence of the Society for a detail so minute, and in general so uninteresting; and perhaps, in so curious a subject of our local topography, some allowances may be made for the unavoidable prolixity, as the detail is intended to cor-

rect * some mistakes which former accounts of the caves
* 214 have rendered almost popular.

The figure that faces the principal entrance is the most remarkable in this excavation, and has given rise to numberless conjectures and theories.§ It is a gigantic bust representing some three-headed being,|| or three of the heads

† Some accounts erroneously call these figures of Hanumant; but no figure of Hanumant appears in the cave, nor any one connected with Vishnu's avatar of Ram.

‡ Plate IV. This drawing, being made from a pillar of the second range of the chief entrance, has not the small figures on the corners.

§ See Plate V. For this exquisitely beautiful and correct drawing, which with the others from the same pencil form the chief ornament of this memoir, I must express my obligations to Mrs. Ashburner of Bombay, who took up her residence at Elephanta for several days, for the purpose of giving them all the accuracy it was possible to be given.

|| Dr. William Hunter describes this bust as having four heads, one being hid behind. *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 292. It is however to be observed that no



of some being to whom the temple may be supposed to be dedicated. Some writers have imagined that it is what they have called the Hindû Trinity of Bramha, Vishnu, and Shiva, and very strange historical conclusions have been deduced from this hypothesis. The Hindû *Trimûrty*, or Trinity as it has been called, does not occupy a very remarkable place in the theology of the Brahmins; the word *Trimûrty*† means *three forms*, and is applied to any three-headed figure.

The three-headed figure at Elephanta only represents the deity down to the breast, or a third-length; one head faces the spectator, another looks to the right, the third to the left; a fourth may be imagined to be concealed behind. It may give some idea of its bulk, to mention that from the top of the cap of the middle figure to the bottom of the image is seventeen feet ten inches, while the horizontal curved line embracing the three heads at the height of the eyes and touching the eyes, is twenty-two feet nine inches in length.‡

*All the Hindû deities have particular symbols by which they may be distinguished, much as the family of * 215 an European may be discovered by its armorial bearings. Unfortunately, many of the figures of Elephanta are too much mutilated to allow us to resort with certainty to this cri-

traces of the fourth head appear, it being left entirely to the imagination to supply it, as well as the fifth on the top, if the bust be Shiva's.

† From *tri* three, and *murti* a figure or image; it nearly corresponds with the Latin epithet *triformis*.

‡ The distance between the wrist of the right-hand figure and the wrist of the left-hand figure is twenty-two feet; from the little finger of the one hand to that of the other hand fifteen feet four inches.

The middle figure from ear to ear measures six feet ten inches and a half; from the line where the cap meets the brow down to the bottom of the chin is four feet four inches; from the top of the nose to the bottom of the chin three feet two inches; the length of the nose is one foot seven inches and a half; distance between the further corners of the eyes three feet ten inches; from the wristlet to the point of the finger of the right hand of the right-hand figure is seven feet ten inches. The right-hand figure from the top of the nose to the bottom of the chin measures three feet seven inches; distance between the outer corners of the two eyes four feet two inches. The left-hand figure from the top of the nose to the bottom of the chin, two feet eleven inches; exterior corners of the eyes, four feet three inches.

terion for distinguishing them, and this is particularly the case with the principal figure. The face on the right hand that looks to the east, is evidently Shiva or Mahadeo, whose principal face, by the rules laid down for fixing images in Hindû temples, must always face the east, while the Yoni generally turns to the north. In his hand he holds one of his usual symbols, the *cobra di capella*, which twists itself round his arm and rears its head, so as to look him in the face; his face seems to bear the marks of habitual passion. He has a fine Roman nose; his brow is swollen and projects between his eyes:—this I at first regarded as only that swelling protuberance between and above the eyelids, which is remarked by physiognomists to be indicative of passion; but having been led to a more careful examination of it by Captain Hall, to whose unwearied curiosity the present account owes much of the accuracy that it may possess, and from comparing it with similar protuberances on the brow of other figures in the cave, I have little doubt left that it represents the third eye of Shiva, from which flame is supposed to issue, and by fire from which the world is finally to be destroyed. As Shiva, though he had five heads had only one such eye, it is represented on his principal head alone, which of course is that looking eastward. He has mustachios on his upper lip, and he and another figure in the eastern wing are the only figures in the whole cave that have them. At the corner of each of his lips is a tusk projecting over the under-lip.† The

lower *lip of all the figures at Elephanta seems thickish,
 * 216 and more African than Asiatic. His tongue is thrust
 out between his lips; his eyebrows are not regularly
 arched, but rather irregularly twisted and depressed on each
 side towards the nose, as those of a person habitually pas-

† I have pleasure in adding Captain Hall's observations, as they are evidently the result of close attention. "The head facing the east: after a long examination, I cannot help thinking that the protuberance on his brow is the third eye; it is entirely raised from the curve of the brow without any indenture, as is the case on the wrinkled forehead of Passion: the whole skin of the brow is smooth save this oval protuberance, which nowise resembles that of Bhayava in the N.E. compartment N. of the Lingam, where there are deep furrows highly expressive of passion.

sionate. His ear is not visible, and may be supposed to be covered with the curls of his hair. His cap is richly adorned with variegated figures, branches, and flowers; among others may be distinguished a skull or death's head, a serpent with various folds, and branches of the *bilva-tree*, the leaves of which issue three from a point, like the trefoil, and *Nirgundi*, a sort of shrub, which are symbols that belong peculiarly to Shiva; a few curls run along below his cap. Behind his high cap, the stone is excavated on the right side into two narrow parallel slips, the one higher than the other, so that two persons might lie stretched at length without being observed from below; but there are no steps up to them.

The middle figure has a tame and tranquil appearance; his ears are long, pressed downwards, and divided like those of the *Kānpāthe*, a set * of mendicants, who by means of weights contrive to stretch down their ears to an extra- *217 ordinary length:—he has a jewel in each ear,† and hanging ornaments. His cap is richly ornamented with fancy figures, and on the right side is a crescent, which belongs to Shiva. His right arm is mutilated from the wrist downwards:—

“ This head seems to be speaking to the snake; and I would rather say that the tongue is protruded in doing so than that it is indicative of anger: nor can I quite agree to the account of the eyebrows; they are said ‘ not to be arched, but irregularly twisted.’ They are certainly not arched; but the deviation is not much, nor does it convey to me any idea of agitation, but rather of mirth or pleasure, as if he was singing to the snake, and was gratified to see its pleasure; the dimples at the corners of the mouth, too, strike me as resembling the approach to a smile much more than the distortion of habitual passion; the corners of the mouth are, if anything, turned upwards. It seems that the thought of this head exhibiting an expression of passion has been suggested by two circumstances; 1st, The third eye on the forehead in profile giving an effect similar to that of the contracted skin of the brow in anger; and 2ndly, By the tooth or tusk, which coming from the upper jaw just at the corner of the mouth, produces on the spectator's mind an impression like what he would feel were the mouth turned downwards at the corners. Fancy carries one a long way; but I hesitate not to say, that such attention as I have now given it will induce in any one a similar belief;—I have been examining it for two hours. So say all theorists. The mustachios also lend their aid in giving a fiercer look, which I cannot allow is at all intended.”

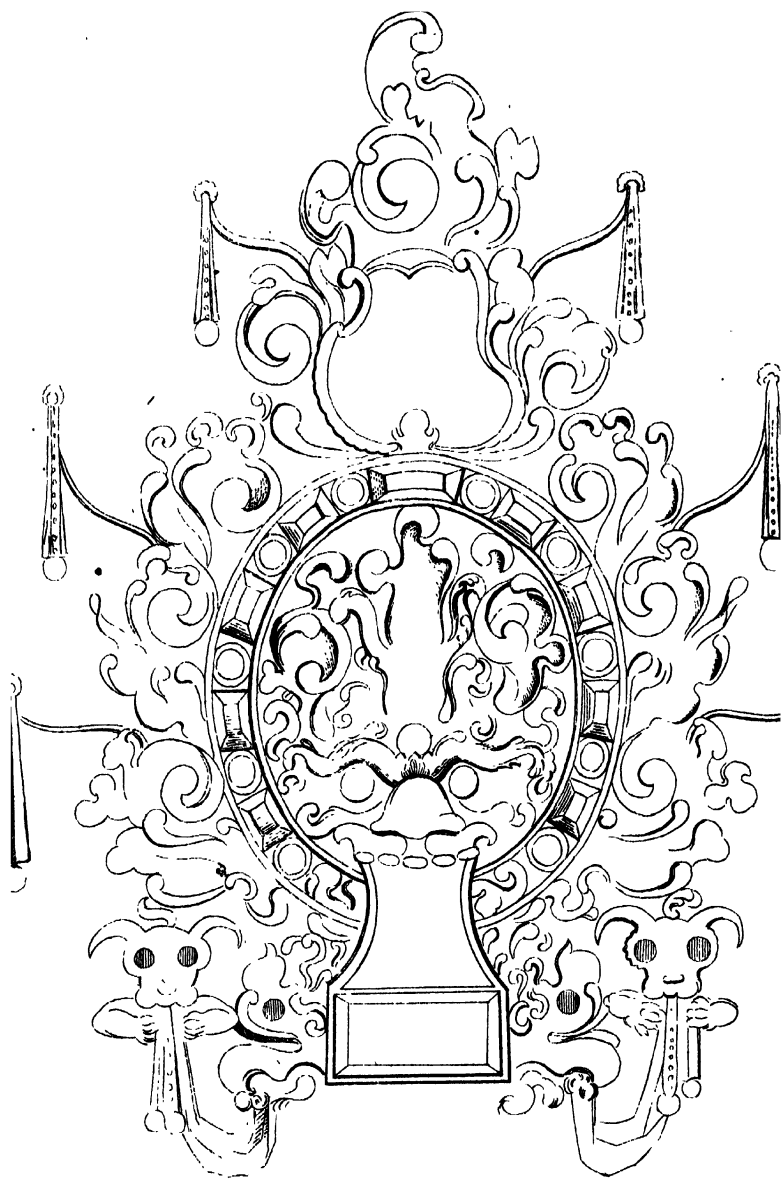
† What in Niebuhr's drawing appears as a link, is really part of the split ear.

in Niebuhr's time it seems to have been entire; and in the engraving in his work is represented as holding a snake. The head of the snake still remains on the left cheek of the first figure. His left hand holds what appears to be an unblown lotus, or perhaps, if the figure be Bramha, his *kamandala* or *patera*, the water-vessel which he uses in his religious purification. Round his right wrist is a ring precisely like the clumsy ornament still in use called *kada*, which is a thick ring, generally of silver or some other precious metal. Round the neck, which hangs in folds, is a necklace of large round stones; and below this, a broad ornamental jewel necklace:—a remarkable jewel is in the front of the cap. It is represented in plate VI. with unequalled accuracy,† and is certainly, both for elegance of design and beauty of execution, one of the finest specimens of Hindû taste anywhere to be met with: some of the fancy-ornaments strongly resemble those used in heraldry. The hanging pendants have an elegant effect. The middle is occupied by a circular band of precious stones adorning and limiting the front; while below, another rich bandage, also adorned with cut stones, passes round the head-dress. Between the cap of this figure and that of the figure to the right, a snake is represented as twining.

The figure on the left has a mild and placid look; in his left hand, which has a *kada* on the wrist, he holds an open lotus. He has fine curling ringlets. On his head is a rich cap ornamented with a hanging drapery of jewel garlands:—a lotus is represented on the junction of his cap with that of the middle figure. In his ear is something resembling a crooked horn, which seems to have supported a jewel now broken off:—the middle figure has a similar-looking ornament, but inverted. The curls and drapery are very neatly sculptured.

* This magnificent triad is in a recess cut in the rock *218 to the depth of thirteen feet, including the thickness of the doorway-wall or screen, which is about two feet and a half; the basement is raised about two feet nine inches

† See Plate VI.



from the ground. In the corners of the threshold are two holes, as if door-posts had been inserted in them, and in the floor is a groove as if for receiving a screen, which may occasionally have been let down to conceal the group.

The recess is wider within than at the doorway, the entrance being fifteen feet six inches wide, while further in the recess expands to twenty-one feet six inches.

Such is this remarkable figure that occupies the most conspicuous place in the temple, and which of late has generally been regarded as the Hindu Trinity; but it appears to me that if our opinions be guided by a general examination of this figure compared with the others in the excavation, and with the apparent design of the cave, little doubt will be left that the whole excavation is a cave-temple dedicated to Shiva alone,† who is also singly represented by this three-headed bust. The impression made on Christians by the view of this three-headed figure has had more influence than any regard to genuine Hindû doctrines, or to the legends in the sacred books of the Brahmins, in fixing the opinions most prevalent on the subject of this mysterious bust. To account for the appearance of a many-headed monster in a mythology like that of the Hindûs, which swarms with gods of every description, it does not seem necessary to resort to the theory of the Trinity, which has played a remarkable part in the Platonic school, and is the catholic doctrine of the Christians; but which cannot be correctly said to have a place in the theology of the Hindûs. Even the most learned Hindûs have never heard of any incarnation * of three gods in the same form, and the appearance of one god with a triple head is also rare. The god *Fever*, * 219 *Jwar*, who has the epithet of *Trishir* (or three-headed)

† I have heard it suggested by a very able antiquary, that the temple might be dedicated to Shiva with the attributes of Bramha and Vishnû. This last kind of dedication is not uncommon, particularly in the Carnatic, and seems to be an ingenious way of paying court to the chief deity, by representing the others as only emanations or forms of his power. Nor has the chief deity always the attributes of two other deities; he has often the attributes of a second only. But the opinion that the excavation is a temple of Shiva alone, seems to me to rest on better grounds.

given him in the *Amerakosha*, is the only one I recollect in Hindú mythology, except the *Trivéni*; and neither of them are figures of any great distinction. But it is curious that if this single three-headed figure be not considered as representing Bramha and Vishnú in conjunction with Shiva, there is no other of the numerous figures in the temple which favours the idea that these two gods had any share in it as objects of worship. I shall, after having examined the various sculptures in the cave, suggest some further reasons, resulting from that review, in support of the opinion that it is a temple dedicated to Shiva alone: in the meanwhile I must again claim the indulgence of the Society, while I proceed with the tedious examination of the separate compartments.

The larger figures in the compartments marked Nos. 2 and 3 in the plan seem to be (*dārpāls*) (*a*) guards or door-keepers to the principal figure last described; that on the right (No. 2†) is a gigantic male figure thirteen feet six inches in height. On his cap is a monstrous fancy-face with two large tusks and several jewels; in his ears are large rings like those called *kúnda* worn by Shiva and other gods, as well as by that class of religious mendicants called *Gosáwis*. He has a necklaco, and his neck seems to rise into folds like the neck of the centre head of the triad. Over both his shoulders stretches a broad snake or band; on each of his upper arms is an ornament resembling a thin metal rod twisted twice round the arm, the ends being left loose. Above the navel he has a belt, the tie of which hangs downward, while a *kammerband* or girdle of wide cloth binds his middle; his *shela* or robe comes over his right hip, and goes down to his left thigh. A large fragment of this figure is broken off, from the belly downwards, including the thighs and legs, and lies on the ground;—beneath him, on the right, is a small squat figure, apparently a *peisach* or demon. These demons or *peisaches* are the usual attendants of Shiva, and were created by him in his Avatar of Ruder; their favourite residence is in burning- or

† Plan No. 2.

[(*a*)—Should be *dvāra-gālas*.—Ed.]

burying-grounds, where their master Shiva * also delights to dwell: they are his favourite *guna* or retinue, * 220 whence his name of *Bhūtpati*, or lord of the demons. The *peisach* here represented is an odd figure six feet one inch in height, sits half off the ground, and, with his left hand put behind the larger figure's right leg, holds what may be the *shela* or robe. The larger figure seems to recline towards him with his right elbow, but without touching him. The *peisach* has a cap with three tufts, one of them broken off; he has curly hair, high cheek-bones, a flat face, the front teeth broken, his tongue between his lips. He has earrings, and a necklace, to which is appended a large hemispherical ornament; his only dress appears to be the *langoti* or plain cloth round his waist, and the *shela* over his arm.

The figures in No. 3 are nearly similar to the last mentioned;† the *dvāra-pāla* is twelve feet nine inches, the *peisach* about seven feet in height. This last stands upright, while the larger figure rests on him with his left elbow.

The next group, No. 4,‡ is one which has in general been much misunderstood. Niebuhr, Dr. Hunter, Lord Valentia, and others, call the principal figure an Amazon; and Lord Valentia builds a fanciful theory on this conjecture: Moor, however, was right in supposing that it is *Ardha-Nari*. § It is evidently the personification of Shiva and Parvati conjoined, an union of the male and female energies of the god, well known in Hindú mythology under the name of *Ardhanārishwar*, or the half-female god: it has four arms, and stands in an erect position but inclining a little, while the fore right-arm rests on the hump, the hand coming over the left horn of *Nandi*, the bull of Shiva, on which he is supposed to ride. The right side of the figure is male, the left female; and it is singular how much this distinction is preserved in all respects. The two sides of the cap are different; the right side presents the crescent of Shiva, the female side of the cap has curls rising over it, while the male side

† See Plate V., Plan No. 3.

‡ See Plan No. 4.

§ See Plate VII., *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 98.

is ornamented by a string of knobs; the earrings are different, and the left * or female side has two, the one of them a * 221 *bali* or jewel for the upper part of the ear, the other a large ring; while the male side has one only, and the ear is lengthened and stretched downwards: the armlets are different. The two right or male arms are both encompassed by the unjoined thin metal bar; the left or female arms have a broader ornament: the right-hand wrists have one ornament each; the left-hand wrists have each two bracelets: the inner right hand, which is in good preservation, has a ring on the little finger; the inner left hand, which is also unbroken, has one on the little finger, and another on the middle finger. The inner right hand holds a *cobra di capella*, the head of which rises aloft; the outer right-hand arm rests on the left horn of the bull, while the elbow rests on its hump;—both the serpent and bull *Nandi* mark out Shiva. The left breast is that of a female, and from being single has given rise to the idea that the figure represented an Amazon; the inner left hand holds a shield, the outer left hand is broken off. In Niebuhr's time (if his drawing be correct) it seems to have held the lower garments of the goddess; the robe hangs in drapery over the left arm. She has a girdle, the tie of which hangs down on the left side; the figure has also a necklace. In the forehead is a slight protuberance or eye, such as belongs to Shiva. The lower part of this image is worn away, in consequence of the lodging of the rains, which have rotted the stone.

The same distinction that is observed between the appearance of the right and left sides of the principal figure itself is extended to all the figures in the compartment; those on the right of Ardhanari belonging to Shiva, those on the left to Parvati.

The *Nandi* or holy bull, on which Ardhanârishwar rests his right arm, is in excellent preservation.†

On the right of Nandi, a tall figure with a cap like Shiva's, and evidently his servant, holds a *trishûl* or trident, one of the

† The face is two feet seven inches in length.

distinguishing symbols of the god. He has earrings of different kinds, a necklace, armlets like Shiva and the other male figures, bracelets, and a girdle.

Between this attendant and Nandi, in recess, is a female *chouri-bearer* * much mutilated; her *chouri* or fly-flap rests on her shoulder: on his right is another figure, but * 222 too much broken to permit either its sex or office to be recognized.

About as high as Shiva's shoulder, on the right, is a small figure, three of whose heads are seen, while a fourth may be supposed to look behind; he has four arms, and sits with one leg stretched forward on the *padmasana* or lotus-throne, which is supported by five swans, or rather geese. His heads, the lotus-seat, and the *váhana* of geese, point him out to be Bramha; the rest of the figure corresponds with and supports this idea. His inner right hand holds a lotus, his second is broken off; but from its direction (and Niebuhr's plate) appears to have come up to his left breast. His outer left hand suspends a pot of water; his inner left hand holds a broken stick like a bow, perhaps his staff, or the Vedas written on thin palmyra leaves. The lotus and waterpot are emblematic of Bramha; it was from the former that the world was expanded at the time of creation: the latter is used during his spiritual ablutions, and previous to prayer. He has earrings, two necklaces, armlets, and over his left shoulder a robe.

Between Bramha and Shiva's right arm, in recess, is a figure evidently Indra, riding on his elephant *Airavati*. This god is well known as the lord of the firmament, and the rain is produced by the spouting of water from the trunk of his elephant;—the trunk is very perfect. Indra has an armlet like Shiva's on each arm; in his left hand, as ruler of the firmament, he holds the *wajr* or thunderbolt. His right hand holds something, it is not easy to say what; it may be the *angkúsh*, or instrument for driving his elephant.

Between Bramha and Indra, but behind, is a servant who bears two *chouris* or fly-flaps, one in each hand.

Above all these are worshippers and servants. One of them

has a small dagger on his right thigh ; another, a female figure, holds a small round box or cup in her left hand ; a third is a *muni* or sage. These *munis* are very remarkable personages in the Hindû mythology, and are supposed to acquire power over the elements, and even over the gods themselves, * by their
 * 223 painful penances. The one here represented has a long beard, and is extremely emaciated and care-worn ; he has an offering in each hand, and behind him is another mutilated female.

On the left or female side of the chief figure is a female attendant with a *chouri* ;† she has large earrings and several necklaces. Below are two dwarf *peisaches* or demons. These in Hindû mythology are the usual servants of Shiva and his wife Parvati. On the left of the first attendant is another female servant carrying on the palm of her left hand the dressing-box and mirror of the goddess, who has the character of being very attentive to her attire ; she has a cross-belt reaching over both her shoulders. This piece of dress is now seldom used except by Hindûstani dancing-girls. Her robe flows down over her left arm ; she has anklets, which seem thick and heavy, much like those now in use.

Higher up than these is Vishnû riding on *Garud*, his usual *vâhana* or conveyance. Vishnû has four hands ; in the inner left hand he has his *chaker* or *war-disc* ; the other left seems to have rested on his knee :—the two right hands are broken off. *Garud*, on whom he rides, is the eagle or great hawk : he is often represented, however, in the human form, as in the present instance, and then he frequently retains the beak of a hawk, which, however, is not the case anywhere in the Elephanta caves : his hair is curled like a wig. On his forehead is the *tilak* or sectarian mark of Vishnû ; he has earrings, and round his neck a *cobra* tied in a knot :—it is to be remarked that snakes are his food. *Garud* has wings, and we perceive his large left wing outstretched. On his right is a singular griffin-looking

† Goldingham, in his Account of Elephanta, calls this *chouri* or fly-flap a mace or sceptre : *Asiatic Res.*, vol. iv., p. 426, 8vo ed.

head, and two figures, one of which seems to ride on it; there are several other figures below. The *tilak* on Garud's forehead is a remarkable circumstance, since it will probably be regarded as an additional proof that the cavern was formed after the division of the two great sects of Vaishnavi and Shaivî. It may be added as worthy of notice, that though, in the course of examining the various figures in the excavation, * we discover most of the ornaments for the arms, ankles, neck, * 224 and ears still worn by the natives of India, the nose-ring nowhere appears.

Towards the roof of the compartment are six other figures; one of them a *Rishi* or penitential ascetic, whose hair is curiously twisted as a *jatha*, in the form in which it is still frequently worn by some religious mendicants: he presents an offering on a platter, the only one that appears in the cave. One of the figures holds a lotus with its stalk; several others, evidently *devangana*, the handmaids of the gods, are employed in showering garlands of flowers.

The next compartment is to the left of the great *triad*, and is No. 5 of Niebuhr.† The chief figures are Shiva and his wife Parvati, who both stand upright: Shiva is sixteen feet in height. He has an ornamented cap, earrings, a necklacc, a belt or *yed-nîôpavit*, which goes over his left shoulder, and passing over his two right upper arms returns down behind; with a girdle round his waist. His *shela* or robe, which is tied on the right thigh, passes to the left one; on his upper arms is the open metal-rod bracelet, and the heavy *kada* is on his wrists. He has four arms. His inner right arm supports either a snake, or the hem of his garment; the outer right arm is much broken. His outer left hand rests on the head of a dwarf (*peisach*) who has wiggy-looking hair, and seems to bend and stagger under the weight of the god's hand. This dwarf has not on his head a turban, as Niebuhr supposes; and it is worthy of remark, that there is no appearance of a turban on any sculpture at Elephanta: indeed

† Plan No. 5, and see Plate VIII. It is in depth six feet four inches, breadth thirteen feet, height nineteen feet seven inches, whereof the pediment is two feet six inches, figures seventeen feet one inch. 4

there is no mention of that piece of dress in any ancient Hindû book, and it was evidently introduced after the Mussulman conquest. In the dwarf's right hand is a *cobra di capella*, in his left a *chouri* that rests on his shoulder, and on which Parvati's right hand seems to be placed. He has a necklace, from which hangs a tortoise as an ornament. He has a belt and langoti.

* On Shiva's right are several inferior figures; one * 225 male figure having a dagger† on his right side, kneels on his right knee with his hand before him; resting on his left there is a female *chouri*-bearer who has a flower in her left hand; close by is another figure having broad armlets, and above is a *peisach*-looking form with an offering in his left hand.‡

Above this we again meet with Bramha, very much in the same position as in the compartment No. 4. Three of his heads are discernible, he sits on his lotus-throne supported by his swans or geese, and has four hands. In his inner right hand is an opening lotus, his outer right hand rests on his breast. His two left arms are much broken; the outer seems to have held the suspended waterpot of the god, the inner some kind of stick. It is curious that we can nowhere at

† This dagger Dr. Hunter describes as a knife.

‡ Mr. Macneil in his fanciful account of Elephanta, &c. (*Archæologia*, vol. viii., p. 274), and Dr. Hunter (vol. vii., p. 294), mention a figure that presents what is evidently a fish. They must mean a figure holding a conch or spiral shell, which their inexperienced interpreters, at a loss to make themselves correctly understood, probably denominated a fish; at least I could discover nothing else to which they could have alluded:—the figure of no fish is sculptured in these excavations. Dr. Hunter, who was a learned and estimable man, must have written the account of Elephanta soon after he came to India. His subsequent acquirements in Indian literature, which were very considerable, would have enabled him to correct many parts of it. He seems not to have known, that in Elephanta he was surrounded by Hindû deities. The figure of Ganesh (p. 295) appears to have given him an idea that some of the figures resembled the monstrous deities that are adored by the Gentoos at this day. It is remarkable, that in the whole of his account of this temple, he does not mention the name of a single deity. Mr. Macneil's errors are very pardonable; he wrote as a poet and a man of taste, without claiming any acquaintance with Indian mythology or history.

Elephanta discover Bramha holding the *reds*, which is generally his attitude in other sculptures and paintings, unless this staff be really the narrow palmyra-leaves on which the *veds* were written. These palmyra-leaves are never used at this day in the Mahratta country, though they continue to be the usual material for writing in the Tamul and Malabar nations in the south of India.

Behind, and between Bramha and Shiva, we again meet with Indra seated on his elephant, which appears to be kneeling.

Above we have a female *chouri*-bearer, a larger male figure bearing * a very large conch or *shankh*, two *rishis* * 226 or penitentiary devotees, and two other figures.

Over, or rather issuing from, Shiva's head, is a singular three-headed female figure, which seems to be the Ganga that issued from Shiva's head. The fables on this subject are well known. Shiva is often drawn having a facet over his head representing the Ganga; but I know of no instance in which this head is represented as having three faces. The three heads may, however, represent the *trivani* or three streams, Ganges, Yamûna, and Sareswati, of which the Ganges is formed, and whose supposed junction at Pryag (or Allahabad) forms one of the most celebrated places of Hindû pilgrimage. In the Amerkosh, the Ganga, from the manner of its formation, has the epithet of *Tripâtga*, "going by three roads," and *Trisrota*, "having three channels."

Parvati stands on Shiva's left; she is about twelve feet four inches in height, and very full-breasted. Between her and Shiva rises a *cobra*, the tail of which seems to be that held in Shiva's right hand. She has earrings, necklaces, a girdle, and anklets; her left hand rests over a small female *prishach*.

Near her left shoulder is Vishnû riding out he shoulders of Garud, who has the human shape, and in his forehead the *tilak* or sectarian mark of Vishnû. In his inner right hand he has the *gada* or mace; his outer right is broken. In his inner left

† See Moor's *Pantheon*, plate V., fig. 2 and 4; plate VII., fig. 2; plate XIV.; plate XVI., fig. 3, &c.

is the *chaker*, or wheel, or *war-disc* : his outer left rests on his left knee : he has a necklace. Garud has wig-like hair, a *cobra* twisted round his neck and tied before ; his two hands support Vishnu's feet as stirrups, and are not placed on his instep as represented by Niebuhr. The drawing of this whole compartment in Niebuhr is inaccurate, and must have been made hurriedly.

Above is a group of six figures ; two of them are females ; one is a bearded *mūni* or saint. The women, as usual, have all bangles on their ankles.

The next compartment (Niebuhr's sixth †) represents Shiva and Parvati seated together. Shiva has the triple * 227 unjoined ornament on each of his four arms, as an arm-let ; on his right is a *chouri*-bearer : at his feet, the emaciated figure of Bhiringi, one of his servants. Behind Parvati, who is a good deal mutilated, appears a female, who with her left arm supports a child seated astraddle on her left thigh, as children are usually carried in India :—this is probably Kartik, Parvati's son. To the left of the goddess is a female attendant, who carries a *chouri* ; and a little in advance, a tall male attendant, who faces a similar tall male figure that stands on Mahadeo's right. The left arm of this last figure is covered by a robe or other garment, which conceals it as far down as the wrist.

Beneath them is the bull Nandi, on which Shiva is accustomed to ride ; three *peisaches* or demons, his usual attendants, one of whom lifts up the left hind-leg of a tiger ; the *vāhana* or animal on which Parvati usually rides : and under Shiva are some broken figures.

Above, the rock is cut into various shapes, intended to represent the clouds of Kailas, Shiva's heaven ; and groups of males and females appear showering flowers. On all occasions of rejoicing, the Gandharvas and Apsaras, the attendants of the celestials, are employed on this business in Hindū poems. On each side is a skeleton-like *rishi* ; one of them in his left holds



GREAT CAVE OF ELEPHANTA.

a basket of flowers, which he seems to scatter below with his right. On the roof, somewhat in advance, is sculptured a boy, whose back is attached to it, and his feet turned back so as to rest on it. The head is destroyed, but the body has a good deal the appearance of that of Ganesha.

In the compartment No. 7 of Niebuhr,† Shiva and Parvati seem to appear again; Parvati stands on the right. An ornament hangs down between her breasts; a male figure behind supports her by placing his left hand on her shoulder. Of Shiva's four hands only one, his outer left, remains, with which he holds the tie of his *shela*. On Parvati's right is a female *chouri*-bearer; and still more to the right a man, who bears what appears to be a round waterpot.

Above are six figures; two of them female, two bearded *mūnis*, one a * child in the attitude of prayer, and one a . larger figure holding a flower: on the roof is a child * 228 showering flowers.

On Shiva's left is Vishnu, a remarkable-looking figure with four arms and a singular cylindrical cap. In his inner left hand he holds the *chakra*, in his outer right a lotus; the others are broken.

At Vishnu's feet is a three-headed figure sitting on the ground on his hams; from his position, his other heads may be concealed behind. He has four hands, and probably represents Kartik, Shiva's son.

On the half of the compartment above Shiva are five figures, of which two are females and one a *rishi*.

This is the compartment which Pyke and Moor have considered as representing a marriage, though from the most careful inspection of the sculpture I can perceive nothing to favour the supposition. Captain Pyke was the first who suggested this notion; which, though it seems to have no more foundation than his other idea, that the principal figure is a Gentoo raja having a string or cord over his shoulder, has yet been generally adopted. Mr. Macneil, Dr. Hunter, and Major

† No. 7 in Plan.

Moor, all seem to regard this group as peculiarly descriptive of various affections: much of this may proceed rather from the imagination of the writer than of the sculptor. There certainly, however, is more appearance of an attempt at unity and action in this than in any of the other compartments.

In the compartment on the right of the eastern entrance (No. 8 of Niebuhr†) Shiva, having eight arms, the protuberance on his forehead, and the crescent on his cap, sits on a seat supported by a figure with many heads and ten arms, probably Ravan, who is of Shiva's *gana* or retinue: Shiva has two of his hands on the heads of two of his servants; one hand holds the *trishul* or trident. On his right sits Parvati, whose head has been broken off, and further away a band of worshippers and *vishis*. Two large figures like *dvârpâlas* or porters are on the opposite sides of the compartment, one of whom has a death's head on his cap, and both of them have a protuberance or eye on the forehead similar to the third eye of Shiva. This pro-

tuberance on the forehead marks these guards as appointed servants of Shiva. The *Shiv-Gita* distinguishes four classes of worshippers, who have been accepted of the god; one of these possesses *svairûpta*, or similarity of appearance. "He who worships me disinterestedly," says the deity, "by knowing me, gains my form and lives in my dominions." The same protuberance is met with on the forehead of servants of Shiva in other compartments at Elephanta.

On his left, among other figures, Vishnû mounted on Garud, Shiva's son Ganes, and Bhiringi his follower and worshipper, are easily recognizable; and in recess Parvati's *vâhana*, a tiger couched on its paws.

Ravan's back is towards the spectator, while he supports the seat; besides him are several *peisaches*.

This piece of sculpture seems to represent an incident in the history of Ravan, which is related in the Ramayana of Valmiki. Ravan once attempted to lift up the silver-hill Kailas (the heaven of Shiva) and to convey it to Lanka;—he moved

it. Parvati, sensible of the motion, exclaimed to Shiva, "Some one moves the hill, we shall be overthrown." On this, Shiva with one of his toes pressed the hill, which closed on Ravan's head. At the end of ten thousand years, Ravan's grandfather Pulasti, the grandson of Bramha, taught him to pray to Shiva, and to perform religious penances; which he did, was released, and was ever afterwards a worshipper of Shiva. The attitude of Shiva while he rests his hands on the heads of his two servants is not unlike the position of one who steadies himself on being sensible of sudden motion.

On the left of the western entrance (at No. 9 of Niebuhr's plan†) is one of the most celebrated sculptures in the cave.‡ It appears to represent Shiva in his incarnation of Bhyrava; he has eight arms: the two inner arms are stretched upwards to support an extended veil, which forms a sort of ground or panel to inclose the principal figure. Bhyrava's whole *appearance is extremely terrific; his cap has in front a *230 skull, a crescent, and a snake. His eyebrows are distorted; on each side of this mouth is a long tusky tooth, which projects from his mouth and presses on his under-lip, giving him a very gaunt look: he has earrings, a necklace, and a garland of human heads strung on, one below another, passing over his left shoulder and left thigh, and returning back by his right thigh. His second inner right arm is broken. If Niebuhr be correct, it must formerly have held a child with the head hanging downwards: the third hand holds a sword, which is entire and has no guard: the fourth right arm is broken. The inner left arm sustains one corner of the veil, the second holds a sacrificial bell, the string of which is finely sculptured; the third, round the elbow of which twists a snake, holds as

† Plan No. 9.

‡ This is the group which has been called The Judgment of Solomon. See Capt. Pyke, *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 326. It may be remarked, that none of the engravings which accompany that paper are correct:—for example, the ground-plan represents the great excavation as having twelve small apartments at the different corners, while there are in reality only two.

cup :† the fourth is broken off. He has armlets and bracelets on all his arms.

On the right beyond the veil is an elephant, whose left ear comes within the veil, while a small figure peers over it : below are some broken figures. On the left hand are some mutilated female figures, probably *chouri*-bearers : near Shiva's left hand that holds the cup, is a mutilated figure bending back in a forced attitude over the cup ; the upper part of the body has a languid air. It is not plain how it is supported ; it has a good deal the appearance of a victim‡ about to be killed, to furnish Bhyrava's cup with blood : the Pandits, however, differ in this, some asserting that the cup is filled with wine only, while others acknowledge that the god sometimes indulges in a sanguinary beverage. Beyond this are two *rishis*, a female figure, and another which is broken.

Above all these are ten figures, of which two are children, two old and two young *rishis*, two female figures, and two males.

Immediately over Bhyrava, and in the middle of the whole, is a singular-looking character : whether its form be accidental or not I cannot deter*mine.§ One somewhat similar *231 occurs in No. 6 ;—a little imagination might convert it into an ancient or provincial form of *Om*—the sacred and mysterious name of Deity, on which so much has been written. It is a sound not to be pronounced, but meditated on.

It should be observed, that there is no appearance of Bhowani in this compartment.

The compartment on the left of the grand entrance (No. 10

† Dr. Wm. Hunter calls this cup a pedestal, evidently from having made only a hasty inspection of the group.—*Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 290.

‡ Mr. Goldingham describes this figure as kneeling on a block held in the left hand of the gigantic eight-handed figure. The hand appears to me to hold a cup, and the small figure to rest on something beyond the veil, and not to be supported by any of Shiva's hands.

§ The drawing of this compartment, from the pencil of Miss Agnes Dundas, though on a small scale, is executed with the most perfect taste and accuracy. I am indebted to the same lady for the fine drawing of Arduarishwar, Plate VII.

of Niebuhr†) is much mutilated. The principal figure has extremely the look of Bouddh; he is of human shape with only two arms, which unfortunately are broken off, though, from the appearance of a small circular ridge of stone which passes over the thighs of the statue, it would seem that they had rested on his lap. He sits on the *padmasan* or lotus-seat, which is supported by the stalk of a lotus held by two persons who are below, very much as occurs in some figures at the caves of Kanara in Salsette; his head is ornamented with rich jewels resembling those on the head of the triad, but on a smaller scale. This and the similar figure in the western wing are certainly the most puzzling in the whole cave:—I know of no instance in which Shiva is so represented; but if this be Bouddh, as his general appearance would indicate, how does he come into a Brahminical temple? The question is not easily answered. The detestation of the Brahmins towards Bouddh is deep-rooted. In the present orthodox Hindû mythology, it is well known that Bouddh, in so far as he is admitted at all, is considered as an avatar of Vishnû, incarnated for the purpose of leading mankind into error;‡ he is therefore rarely represented, and is never worshipped in that form. But Vishnû does not appear in Elephanta in any other of his avatars, or in anything that indicates an avatar; Hanumant nowhere appears, as some who have described the caves erroneously affirm. If this figure, therefore, be Bouddh, I should be inclined* to imagine that it does * 232 not refer to any avatar of Vishnû, but was borrowed directly from the Bouddhist sect; or that there was anciently an attempt to unite the Bouddhist with the sect of Shiva, as it would appear from the descriptions at Bouddha Gaya and other monuments that there was an attempt to mingle the sect of Bouddh and Vishnû.§ The existence of Bouddhist excavations at two wings of the Brahminical caves of Ellora, is a fact

† No. 10.

‡ See in particular the *Shiva Puran*, sec. 20; the *Ganesh Puran*, sec. 44, 45, 46, 47, and 48; and the *Maha Bhagavat*, skand v., sec. 20.

§ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 284; vol. ii., p. 119. 8vo ed.; and vol. ix., pp. 298 *et seq.*, 4to ed.

which favours the supposition of an ancient union of part of the sect of Shiva and Bouddh; and it appears to me that the present Brahminical ideas regarding the incarnation of Vishnû as Bouddh, were posterior to a friendly union of part of the Vaishnavis and Bouddhists, introduced when the Vaishnavi doctrines had again recovered an ascendancy, and meant to discredit the worship of their former rivals. After all, however, this may only be Shiva, represented as he often is in a contemplative posture as a religious recluse; and the crescent on the top of his cap to the left, with another indistinct figure in front, which may be the Ganga, but which rather seems to resemble a triple ball or flower, renders this upon the whole the more probable supposition of the two.

The chief of the smaller figures are Bramha on the right, supported by the usual birds; Vishnû on the left riding on Garud, who has his hair curling; under him is an opening plantain with two leaves expanded and the centre germ rolled up. A figure also appears riding on an animal which has lost its head, but which from its general appearance, and from the shape of its off fore-leg, which has a solid hoof, has evidently the body of a horse. It has a saddle, saddle-cloth, and girth much like those used in Europe. It is covered behind with housings; its head and neck also appear to have been adorned with various trappings. It may be the same griffin-like animal represented in compartment No. 4: if it represent a horse,† it is the only figure of that noble animal which appears in these sculptures. Two worshippers sit below, facing each other, on benches; *one of them in his left hand holds a *rudrakshnâla*, or rosary of the berries called *rude-raksh*, which belong to the worship of Shiva, and form part of the costume of the *Saniasis*, or mendicants, who are his peculiar

† Indra has a horse called *Ucheishreva*, or *high-sared*, but the horse is rarely seen in Brahminical devices. The figure of a horse appears indeed on the capitals of the pillars in the great Bouddhist temples of Carli, and the same animal is the distinctive mark of Sambhava, one of the Jaina Tirthankars; it may be added, that the half-moon also appears as the ensign of Chaudra Prabha, another of the Tirthankars.

worshippers: and another figure sits on the bench opposite, having one of his legs hanging down across the other.

Opposite to this compartment, and on the right of the entrance (at No. 11 of Niebuhr's plan†), is a representation of Shiva with eight arms; ‡ his four right arms are broken off; one of them held a *damdameh* or war-drum, round the top of which is twisted a *cobra*. His inner left hand supports the end of his robe; the others are broken off.

Beneath is his faithful attendant Bhiringi with his skeleton form.

On his right is a servant, who holds what seems to have been the god's *trishul*; two of the prongs are gone. He has a crescent in the front of his cap, and a skull, from the right eye of which a *cobra di capella* issues.

Above is a very perfect Ganesh, with his elephant head and ears. In his right hand is his *parsh*, the instrument used for guiding the elephant; in his left is his broken tusk.

* Above is Bramha with four heads and four arms; he is seated on a flat seat supported by five geese: behind * 234 him are Marîti and another figure: in one of his hands he holds his waterpot; the rest are broken off.

On the left, besides some other figures, is Vishnu on Garuda's

† Plan, No. 11.

‡ This figure seems to have been much more complete when Dr. Wm. Hunter visited it some time before 1784. His description of it is as follows:— "In the west end is a human figure with eight arms, four on each side, united at the shoulder, one behind another. On the right, the fore-arm ~~is bent~~ ^{is bent} across the body, and is applied to the opposite side, at that part where the inhabitants of the country usually wear their *cees* or dagger, as if about to draw it. The second is thrown out from the body, and the fore-arm has been bent so as to come before the breast, but is broken off a very little way beyond the elbow. The humerus of the third is parallel to the former, but the fore-arm entirely broken off. The fore-arm of the fourth is bent upwards, but broken off near the wrist. The two first arms on the left side are gently bent, and hang downwards; the third supports a small female figure; and the fourth is extended above the head to support an irregular body something like the folds of a hanging collected together. The right thigh is bent outwards almost at right angles to the body, but broken off near the knee; the left is broken off close to the hip. This figure is surrounded by a number of smaller ones in various attitudes."—*Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 287.

shoulders, with his *gada* or mace in one hand, and his *shankh* or conch in another, which is used for sounding to battle or summoning to prayer; the remaining hands are broken. Indra appears riding on his elephant.

There are some figures of little moment, and above are some *deodúts*, or messengers of the gods.

Before leaving the great cave, it may be observed that some parts of the roof are hewn into the form of beams or rafters, which the pillars have the appearance of supporting. As you approach by the grand entrance, this framework runs joining the entablatures of the three first rows of pillars transversely east and west. If you approach by the eastern or western entrances, the outer range of pillars in each is connected by a similar framework; but all the rest of the passage by the four side-doors of these two approaches across the temple, from the eastern to the western side-doors, is left quite clear of any such frame-work. If you enter by the eastern middle gate, the framework appears running transversely north and south, connecting the two pillars in the second range from the eastern entrance; from these two pillars it runs east and west, connecting on the top four pillars on each side till it comes to the two pillars next the shrine, which it also unites transversely from north to south; by which means two ranges of four pillars each, and the intermediate space, are cut off above; and were the framework adorned with hangings, the space so cut off would present the appearance of a separate apartment. The space round the shrine is free from any such framework; from which one might be disposed to imagine that the two first-mentioned free spaces were left for passing along from one gate to another, while that around the shrine was left for the purpose of religious circumambulation, a ceremony that is performed by going round either the object worshipped or the temple itself. The two southern ranges of pillars, being those near the grand figure, are also connected from east to west, but not transversely from

* north to south. The framework was probably occasionally hung with a drapery of flowers or cloth, as is usual in Hindu temples.

If we leave the great excavation by the western entrance, we immediately come into the open air; but the soil is here considerably raised, so that it is necessary to climb over a mass of stones and rubbish that seem to have fallen from above. The rock is hewn smooth to a considerable height on three sides of this open space; several circumstances seem to indicate that it had once a roof composed of the rock, which has now fallen in and added to the mass of rubbish. To the south of this court is an excavation marked E on the plan, which is filled with water, and appears low from the great height of the rubbish in the court. The entrance into this excavation is much choked up; within, it seems evidently intended to have been supported by two square massy pillars, and probably it was intended to add two side half-pillars not separated from the rock; the whole is very rudely and imperfectly formed, as if only sketched out and left unfinished in the first and roughest state. The cave within, which is very unequal in height, extends to a considerable distance on all sides; but not regularly. The whole floor is covered to a considerable depth with water, which prevents access to this excavation. It is not easy to say whether it was intended for a covered tank or not; were the earth removed from the entrance, and a more distinct view of the inside of the cave obtained, a better idea could be formed.

Leaving this excavation, we reach the chapel to the west, which has a front supported by two pillars and two semi-pillars,† and (probably from the quantity of extraneous earth that has lodged in it) the roof is not so high as the rest of the temple. In the first apartment, which is evidently a good deal raised by earth that has fallen into it from without, there is on the right a Bouddh-looking figure (No. 12‡) sitting on a lotus-throne, the support of which is covered with earth:—part of this earth I removed by digging; but the whole under-part of the lotus-stalk, as well as the servants who were by it, were so

† It is nine feet high, twenty-three feet wide, fourteen feet three inches deep to the outside of the pillars, but the rock projects five feet and a half beyond the pillars.

‡ Plan, No. 12.

extremely rotted and eaten by the water * and damp, * 236 that I desisted. Niobuhr justly remarks, that to show the soles of the feet, as is done by this statue, is by Orientals esteemed a mark of great unpoliteness; it is often done, however, in Bouddh and Jaina figures, as the symbols of the divine personage are frequently found marked on the soles of the feet. His hands and fore-arms being broken off, it is impossible to say whether his hands were placed within each other, though from the appearance of the bend at the elbow of the left arm we may suppose that they were not. This, whether Shiva or Bouddh, is probably the same personage that is represented in the compartment on the left of the grand entrance; on his right is a figure sitting on his heels, and holding in his hand an expanding plantain: above this is a three-headed figure, perhaps Bramha, besides several others of less moment.

On the left of the door by which you enter the inner apartment † is Shiva with six arms, having on his head a cap ornamented with the crescent; and in his right inner arm he holds a snake, as he does a *parsh* or hook for guiding his elephant in his second right arm: the third outer arm is gone. In his inner left arm he holds the drapery of his dress; the second left arm holds something which is broken; the palm of the third is held exposed. On his brow is the accustomed eye or protuberance. Bramha appears with his birds and lotus on the right, and below him is a spreading plantain-tree and a human figure sitting on the ground. On Bramha's left is a human figure riding on an animal too much broken to admit of its species being recognized; and between this animal and Shiva are two figures, one of them a female *chouri*-bearer. By his inner left arm is another female figure; and on her left is Indra on his elephant Airawati; on the left of whom is Vishnu, four-armed, riding on Garud's shoulders. Shiva has on his cap the crescent, one of his most frequent symbols. On the western side is a door leading to a smaller irregular closet, marked F on the ground-plan; and beyond the first-mentioned apartment is another small one

† No. 13.

marked G, † in which is a *ling* overturned and lying on * 237 one *side. On each side of this door without is a *dvārpāla* or warden, having two *peisach* figures below and two over him.

The chapel on the opposite side, on the east of the great temple, which is also now entered over a heap of stones and rubbish, has an open elegant appearance; it is eighty-six feet long, and in general twenty-five feet broad. It appears to have had four columns and two half-columns in front; but they have all been destroyed except the western half-column and part of the column next to it, probably by masses of stone falling from above. In front of the middle entrance and receding into the rock is a small shrine or sacellum, which is surrounded by an open space (B). On the eastern and western extremities of the long saloon or veranda are two recesses, ‡ divided from the rest of it by two pillars and two pilasters, which form three entrances to each. On the right side of the western recess (at No. 14 of Niebuhr's plan§) is an upright figure with a spear or broken *trishūl*; his left rests on a broken form. If it were Nandi, as the situation admits, we might then suppose this figure to be Shiva.

On his right we discern Bramha supported as usual on his swans or geese. On his left is Vishnū riding on Garud; in one of Vishnū's right hands is his mace, the other is open. One of his left hands holds his *chaker* or war-wheel; the other holds his conch or *shankh* resting on Garud's shoulders. We discern several other subordinate figures.

On the left of the entrance of the recess (at No. 16 of Niebuhr's plan ||) is a large figure of Ganesh with his elephant-head, and several attendants.

In front of the entrance (No. 15 of Niebuhr ¶) are ten detached figures: one of them is Ganesh; most of the others seem to be *devangana*, the servants and dancing-girls of the gods.

† The dimensions of this inner apartment are:—North side nine feet six inches, west side ten feet six inches, south side nine feet seven inches, east side ten feet eight inches.

‡ The eastern about eleven feet, the western ten feet ten inches in depth.

§ No. 14.

|| No. 16.

¶ No. 15.

There is a pole between each two figures, surmounted with a swan, a peacock, or some other figure as a symbol.

Fronting the right of the grand entrance of No. 17 † is a statue with four arms, and the usual eye or protuberance on the forehead; in its left ear is a snake twisted and tied: he has mustachios and a Roman nose. * The inner right arm * 238 holds a snake; the outer is broken off. The inner left lifts his robe; the outer is broken off:—he has a sword on his left thigh. There are two small figures above, and a *peisach* attendant below. This probably represents Vir-bhudr or Bhyrava, an incarnation of Shiva.

Fronting the left of the grand entrance (at No. 18 ‡), is a gigantic statue with four arms, and two smaller *peisaches*. From the presence of the *peisaches*, we may presume that the principal figure is one of Shiva's *gana* or band.

The eastern recess,—which like the one opposite is screened by two pillars and two pilasters, as has been mentioned,—has no sculpture in it. There is a tradition, that on the night called *Sheurâtr*, or Shiva's night, the water of the Ganges oozes in through the roof of this part of the temple, and the people of the island resort to it at that time to enjoy the benefit of the miracle. A similar legend prevails at many Hindû places of pilgrimage.

The only parts of the temple which have been left undescribed, are the three sanctuaries or shrines marked A, B, and C on the plan. These contain the *ling*, the mysterious symbol of generation, and the great object of worship in the temples of Mahadeo. That marked A has been already mentioned:—it is on the right-hand side of the great temple as you advance up towards the remarkable three-headed figure; it has a doorway on each of its four sides, and each is entered by a flight of six steps, forming a rise of about three feet eight inches above the level of the rest of the excavation. On each side of each of the four doors is a gigantic *dvârpâla* or guard, from fourteen feet ten inches to fifteen feet two inches in height. There is

† No. 17.

‡ No. 18.

nothing singular in the appearance of any of these warders,† except their gigantic bulk. On entering this shrine, or *ghabara* as it is called by the Mahrattas, which by some travellers has been mistaken for a mausoleum ‡—an idea most abhorrent to all Brahminical prejudices—we observe a *ling* about three feet in height and about nine * in circumference, composed of a stone that seems different from that out of which * 239 the rest of the cavern is excavated, being apparently harder and freer, and probably brought from a distance. It is fixed in a square *shalukh* or *yonî* (the symbol of the female organ of generation), which is about three feet in height from the floor of the sanctuary, somewhat hollowed towards the *ling*, and has the *pranalika* or spout, by which the holy aspersions of oil and *ghee* run off, pointing to the north. It is remarkable, that though this shrine does not strike the eye as irregular, yet on measuring it no two sides will be found of the same dimensions: § this *ling* is still an object of religious veneration to the natives, particularly to barren women. In visiting the temple, I have occasionally seen it adorned with garlands of flowers, and oil poured on it from devotion.

The second shrine, marked B in the plan, is elevated above the level of the surrounding floor like that first described, and is come at by steps. The *ling* which is fixed in the *yonî* is also of a different stone from the rest of the cave, and is evidently inserted and imbedded in the original rock. The *pranalika* or spout by which the aspersions are discharged faces the east, and has the form of a cow's head—perhaps to represent the Ganges, which pouring down on the head of Shiva, winds along till it finds a passage, and discharges itself at Gungotri by the Goumûkh or cow's-mouth, when it flows down into the level country of Hindustan. All around this sacellum or *ghabara* is a wide open space, for the purpose of permitting the worship-

† Marked in the plan, *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, and h.*

‡ See Niebuhr, Hunter, &c.

§ The eastern side is nineteen feet four inches, the north side nineteen feet three inches, the west side twenty feet two inches, the southern side eighteen feet four inches.

pers to make *pradakshina* or circumambulation of the symbol of adoration—a religious act which is supposed to be of great efficacy, and which, as has already been observed, is often repeated a great number of times; indeed every pious Brahmin daily performs such circumambulations to the object of his worship before sunrise. It has been already remarked, that the appearance of stone rafters, which have been carved on the roof of the great temple, nowhere join the shrine A, but leave an open passage round it as if for the performance of a similar *pradakshina*.†

* The third recess, at C in the opposite wing, has also
 * 240 a *ling* which has been overturned; it is, like the others, of a stone that is in better preservation than the rest of the cave.

Having remarked, for the purpose of explaining the nature of three of the most prominent figures in the excavation, that the *ling* and *yoni* of the Hindûs represent the male and female organs of generation,‡ it would serve no good purpose on this occasion to repeat the obscene fables invented by the Brahmins to account for the origin of this worship; they may be found in

† No. 6.

‡ It is by no means my wish to enter into a history of the Phallic worship in either Phœnicia or Greece—a subject which has already been exhausted by writers of great learning; but it may be mentioned as remarkable, that the graphic description given by Herodotus (lib. ii., c. 48) of the motion bestowed on the phallus at the feast of Bacchus by means of a string, will most accurately apply to the figures of the *ling* seen in every street of India at the feast of the Hûli. Athenæus (lib. xiv., p. 647A. ed. Casaub.) mentions that the Syracusans made images of the *puclenda muliebria* of sesamum and honey, which they called *Myloï*, and carried about at the feast of the Thesmophoria—a fact which coincides with the reverence paid to the Hindû Yoni. See also on this subject of the phallus, Diodorus Siculus, lib. i., cap. 88, ed. Eichstadt, p. 158; and the still more singular passage of Clemens Alexandrinus quoted by Larcher in his notes to Herodotus, lib. ii., note 182. The priests of the ancients, like those of the Hindûs, spiritualized these obscene symbols. The worship of the phallus belongs to that of Osiris, Adonis, and Bacchus; and among the Greeks was foreign, and from the East: it seems indeed to have prevailed early in India, if it had not its origin there. I hesitate therefore to assent to the opinion of Mr. Colebrooke, mentioned p. 205, though any opinion of his always merits every deference.

every book that treats of Hindu mythology, and are not necessary to be known in order to understand the figures in Elephanta. The Brahmins, like the ancient Greek priests and philosophers, reduce the whole to a mystery, and wish these gross figures to be understood as a mystic representation of the creative and productive energies of nature. The habitual contemplation of such emblems, especially when regarded as sacred or respectable, has however too obvious a tendency to dignify the passions, and to cherish the violence of those animal feelings which it is one great object of morality and religion to regulate and repress. And adoration so misplaced seems to furnish debauchery and riot with too obvious an apology. We know the licentiousness which occasioned the * rites of the Bona Dea to be driven from Rome ; and it is affirmed that in some parts of the Dekhan, the * 241 feasts of the *ling*, which have a precisely similar tendency, are scenes of the most shameful profligacy and license that it is possible for the imagination to conceive. All that at present it is necessary to remark is that the male or active generative energy represents Shiva, while the female or passive is the symbol of Shakti or Parvati ; and it may be added, that the figure is so disguised under the emblem, that in the temple of Elephanta there is nowhere any appearance that can alarm the most timid modesty.

I have already mentioned that the whole temple of Elephanta is probably dedicated to Shiva alone, and not to Shiva, Vishnú, and Brahma, as has of late been generally understood.

After the explanation,—I am sensible that I may add the dull and tedious explanation—of the separate sculptures that has been given, the grounds of that belief may be more easily comprehended. It may previously be remarked, that the use made of temples by the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as by the modern Hindús, is considerably different from that required of them by Christian nations. A Hindu goes alone, as an ancient Roman would have done, when he finds it convenient, offers his solitary prayers before his idol, prostrates himself in his presence, and leaves his offering : he attempts to bribe his

god to prosper him in his trade, whether it be merchandize, or procuration, or theft. There is no stated regular time of teaching, no public prayers said by a priest in the name of a mixed congregation, no gathering of the people to go through a solemn service. Their great festivals are like our ideas of a fair; each man goes in his own time to the temple, makes his offering at the feet of the idol, goes out and purchases sweetmeats. All teaching or reading of the sacred books is in private houses; or if it is in the temple, it is in the courts of the temple, never in the consecrated edifice: the verandas or porticoes near the temple are used just as any others equally convenient would be. This use, to which the courts of the temple are applied, will throw light on many passages of the history and sacred volumes of the Jews. It is evident that the temples of nations whose

worship is so conducted, need not * be large like our
 * 242 churches; since it is not required that they should contain a multitude. In all very ancient temples, however magnificent, the part of the temple in which the deity is supposed to reside is small, surrounded by numerous buildings, in which the priests and servants of the temples reside. This seems to have been the plan of the first temple of Jerusalem; it was that of the older Grecian temples, as we may observe from the Ion of Euripides, and it is at this day that presented by the temple of Mecca. In the temples of the Hindus the great object of worship is not constantly exposed to view, nor placed in the larger outer building; it is always in an inner small and dark apartment, usually having only one door, requiring to have lights burning before it in order to be seen, and facing the door so as to be visible from the further side of an intervening saloon. It will be remarked that the different apartments in which the *lings* are placed at Elephanta answer this description, and would favour a belief that the *ling* itself was the principal object of adoration in the temple. In the grand excavation, the *ling* directly faces two of the three entrances, the eastern and western; it is likewise seen from the central point of the cave. In like manner, a person entering either of the two wings by their middle opening, in each of them has the *ling* immediately be-

fore him; this seems to mark it out as the principal and most frequent object of attention in the temple. There is some reason to conjecture, from the practice of other Hindû temples, that the great figure facing the grand entrance was only exposed to view on more solemn festivals. A veil was probably dropped before the recess, where the marks of some framework still exist, and on ordinary occasions only the two chapels, and occasionally the side doors of the great temple, which all present the *ling*, were probably thrown open.

It must be observed as an objection to the idea which generally prevails, that the middle figure of the three-headed bust represents Bramha, that Bramha's image is never an object of worship with the Hindûs; there is no such thing as a temple of Bramha: a peculiarity, to account for which, different idle stories may be found in the Purans. Such being the case, it is not likely that if the bust was ever intended to be worshipped, a deity who * is worshipped nowhere else should receive religious supplication at Elephanta.

* 243

In the next place there is no one discriminative mark by which the figure in question can be ascribed to Bramha: as far as the mere sculpture is concerned, it might as well be any other god—the serpent in the hand of the middle figure militates against the notion that it is Bramha. Had not the idea of a trinity, suggested by the view of the three-headed bust, presented itself to the mind encompassed with mystery and wonder, Bramha † would probably never have been thought of. It would be wisdom in Christian divines to throw off the treacherous assistance which has been supposed to be afforded to some of the mysteries of the Christian faith by this fabulous Hindû trinity.

In the last place: If any god except Shiva has a share in the temple, it seems rather inexplicable why Shiva in every compartment should always be the prominent and leading figure; and

† The closed lotus-bud in the hand of the figure called Bramha, and the open lotus in the hand of that called Viśhnû, are the only circumstances that have the shadow of favouring this hypothesis; and these are feeble and uncertain proofs on which to build such a conclusion.

why the others should not only never occupy the chief place, nor even appear in any one instance on an equality with him, but should uniformly be represented in a diminutive shape, as his servants or courtiers: this is quite inconsistent with the idea of any equality of reverence towards the three gods who are supposed to have a property in the temple. Shiva appears with all his family and domestics; his wife Parvati, his sons Ganesh and Kartik, Bhṛiga the chief of his *gana*, the worn-out *mūnis*, the *peisaches* who attend him, with his bull Nandi, and the tiger, his wife's *vāhana*. Brahmā and Vishṇu appear solitary, without their families, without their attendants, and chiefly recognizable by their *vāhana* or conveyances. Shiva appears in his different incarnations: not one of all Vishṇu's numerous incarnations can here be traced.

It has been observed by some writers, that the dress of the figures is different from that now in use in India; and Niebuhr remarks that the figures * are beardless, except that of

* 241 Shiva in the great bust, to which may be added that in the eastern chapel, and the bearded *mūnis*, which he overlooked. But so far is the first observation from being true, that there is not a piece of dress on any figure in the cave, except the fancy cap on some of them, which is not at this day commonly met with in India. The *shela*, or long web of thin cloth folded round the loins, is that in general use all over Hindostan and the Dekhan. The same may be said of the jewels and ornaments;—they are precisely the heavy tasteless ornaments that load the necks, ankles, arms, and ears of the Hindūs. If most of the figures are nearly naked, this is owing to several reasons. Statuaries naturally dislike formal dresses, as a great incumbrance on their art, since they conceal or deform the most graceful contours of the human body, the expression of which, and of the emotions of the countenance, is the great triumph of their art. In the next place, there are really very few pieces of genuine Hindū dress: the Brahmin, for example, has only the *dhotee*, or cloth that covers the lower part of the body, and the *angawaster*, which is wrapped round the upper part of the body;—till he is married, he wears only the *ang-*

waster and *langoti*, which last is a short cloth that passes between the thighs, and is fastened before and behind to a string that goes round the loins: the *Sanyasi* uses an *angwaster* dyed yellow with saffron and called *ch,hati*, and the *langoti*. The *Gosavis* and *Byragis* wear the *langoti* alone. The only regular parts of the dress of a woman are the *laguda*, a long web of cloth from sixteen to twenty cubits in length, which, after covering the middle part of the body, is thrown over the shoulders and forms a graceful covering for the upper part; and the *cholee*, a short jacket with short sleeves, used to support rather than to conceal the breast. Most of the articles of dress now worn have been introduced by the Musulmans; such as the *angrakha* and *dopata*, which cover the upper part of the body; the *turban*, the *cholna* or short drawers, &c. It should be remembered, too, that when a Hindû approaches his gods reverently, he purifies himself, and throws off all his dress except that part which covers his loins, and many of the figures in this cave are in the act of adoration. Finally, the principal figures are gods, who in

*most nations have been represented with little covering. At present, none of the figures in Elephanta are sculptured in a state of entire nudity; though it is said that some of those now broken more nearly approached the state of nature, and were mutilated by the piety or wantonness of visitors. As for the circumstance of the figures being beardless, it is owing to their representing celestial beings, who are supposed to enjoy eternal youth. The *mûnis*, or celestial sages, however, are always represented in these sculptures, as they are in the Hindû mythology, with beards, as being aged. Shiva also in Hindû poems, as well as in paintings, has frequently either a beard or mustachios.

Travellers have entertained very different ideas of the degree of genius and art displayed in this temple and the figures around it: some are disposed to rate them very high, and speak in rapturous terms of the execution and design of several of the compartments. To me it appears, that while the whole conception and plan of the temple is extremely grand and magnificent, and while the outline and disposition of the separate

figures indicate great talent and ingenuity, the execution and finishing of the figures in general (though some of them prove the sculptor to have had great merit) fall below the original idea, and are often very defective, in no instance being possessed of striking excellence. The figures have something of rudeness and want of finish, the proportions are sometimes lost, the attitudes forced, and everything indicates the infancy of the art—though a vigorous infancy. The grouping appears to be still more defective than the execution of the separate figures:—a number of little and almost dwarfish figures are huddled around one or two larger ones. Indeed it deserves consideration, whether the nature of the Hindû mythology, which represents everything by hieroglyphic, be not extremely unfavourable to the fine arts. The arts of painting and sculpture owe their chief beauties to a successful representation of external objects, and to a happy development of the universal feelings and passions of human nature, are expressed on the human frame. But in the mythology of the Brahmins, such is the number of legends relating to each of the gods, and so much are their various qualities and properties * 246 depicted by conventional marks and sym*bols, which the character and situation of each individual, much as ascertain distinctly a written name or mark would do, that the ingenuity of the artist is not required to indicate by the fine touches of his art what is done by a rougher and grosser way. The Egyptian sculpture seems never to have passed beyond this step. The Greeks by their fine genius burst the shackles which they received from their masters, and their statues and sculpture will probably be found most excellent, where the general characters and passions of human nature swallow up the understood symbols of the individual represented,—when the painter rather than the people speaks. On this account I have always regarded the attempt made by Sir Joshua Reynolds to restore in a certain degree the use of hieroglyphic in painting, as an oversight of that excellent painter and admirable critic. It seems to be taking a step backward, and to be degrading that beautiful art from exhibiting a representation of

general nature intelligible to all mankind, to the exhibition of a local and temporary character, intelligible only to those whose age and country have qualified them to peruse it. When carried all its length, it brings back the fine arts from giving representations of ideal nature, and strong and refined passions, to the mere art of copying external objects and symbols; it makes them a provincial dialect instead of an universal and eternal language—it has a tendency to strike genius out of the art. The general use of such symbols, accordingly, appears to me to have combined with other causes to blunt the sense of the Hindûs for the fine arts: they are delighted to recognize a deity by his *vâhana*, his many heads and numerous arms; but they appear to set little value on the accurate delineation of a passion, or the fine forms that start from beneath the chisel or the pencil: the passion being represented by its artificial symbol, the natural sign loses its value. The Hindûs are always children, and amused with baubles; their groups even of living beings are generally still life. If there are many figures in the piece, they are commonly seated, and action is rarely represented; or if it be, it is generally an obvious one, like a fight or battle. The various figures, as may be remarked of those at Elephanta, are never made to concur by different actions towards one end, so as to preserve unity in the piece. While sculpture is in this state, and while the art of grouping and of telling a story is in this condition, it is not going * 247 too far to consider them as in their infancy.

While the particular compartments of figures have these defects, it is remarkable that the whole frame and form of the excavation, which to the eye appears regular, when critically examined and measured, is found to be in an uncommon degree faulty. The pillars in the different ranges deviate from the straight line, some advancing and some receding beyond their proper places. Many of them stand with a certain degree of obliquity, few of them are of exactly the same dimensions, and the different sides of the same pillars are rarely similar to each other. Even the whole temple itself, which to the eye presents the appearance of regularity, has no two sides of the same magni-

tude: in a work hewn and carved out with such prodigious labour and expense as this of Elephanta, such a defect appears astonishing. This inequality, extending to the temple itself, the pillars, and the shrines, gives rise to an idea that the inequality may be intentional. Mr. Crawford in his *Sketches* observes, that the Hindus never make the sides of a tank or reservoir perfectly equal to each other. The remark seems to me correct so far as concerns the fact; but with every inquiry that I have made, I cannot discover that there is any such positive rule, or that it is applied to any of their buildings or edifices. Most of the compartments have suffered a good deal from force and injury rather than time; the figures, which are all in full relief and merely adhering to the wall, are easily subject to injury.

It is worthy of notice, that the excavation appears once to have been painted in water-colours: some of these colours still adhere to the roof, though none of the figures that have been painted on it are so entire as to be recognizable. Some remains of water-colours are also visible in other parts of the cave. It

is probable that all the figures were once painted*† in many and glaring colours, as is still practised in regard to Hindû idols. The third eye in the forehead of Shiva and of his servants could not have been distinguished at any considerable distance unless painted. The remains of similar painting are still seen at the caves of Kanara, and even in the magnificent temples of Egypt.

Some time ago a considerable fragment of one of the cushion-like capitals of one of the great pillars fell down. On examining it, it appeared to have been fixed on by two large pegs or pins, and the capital being examined, two pieces of teakwood by which it had been fastened were discovered. It is remarkable, that these pieces of wood when cut with a knife were still very hard and sound within, though they must probably

† Over the grand entrance, between the eastern pillar and pilaster, there is a drawing in water-colours of several concentric circles with some figures, which may have represented the signs of the zodiac; but the colours are too much worn to admit of their being correctly distinguished.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAVE-TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA.

have upheld the fragment for many hundred years; for if it be not admitted that they could have been used as a hold to retain a piece of the stone broken off at the original excavation of the temple, which seems sufficiently probable, still they must be upwards of three hundred years old, as Elephanta was certainly not used as a place of worship from the time that the Portuguese seized Bombay, and probably not for a long time before. When the Portuguese took the island, the sculptures probably suffered much from the ignorance and want of curiosity of that people, as well as their bigotry and detestation of all pagan idols: their cattle seem to have taken shelter in the cave during the monsoon, as long as they had the island. Pyko informs us † that a Portuguese fidalgo fired a great gun into the cave to amuse himself with the echo, by which several of the pillars were broken. The whole of the lower part of the excavation, with the pillars and figures for about two feet from the ground, in consequence of the lodging of the water which comes in by the eastern and western entrances, has been rotted and worn down, so that the stone is easily broken if a little force be applied. Several of the pillars are mutilated; some of them evidently from this cause, as the sound upper part still adheres to the roof, while the base, which was injured by the rainwater and damp, has fallen off: some of the figures, however, appear to have suffered considerably since Niebuhr's time, as appears from his draw*ings, the figures in which are in some instances more entire than the figures in the excavations at present * 249 are. The eastern and western entrances have been broken and defaced by the falling in of huge masses of stone and earth from above, so that the approach to them is now rather difficult, from the irregular masses of scattered rocks lying in heaps.

Nothing presents itself in these excavations, which can lead to a satisfactory solution of the important and curious question, In what age or by what dynasty was this vast temple completed? One fact is worthy of notice, that a greater number of magnificent cave-temples present themselves in a small space

* *Archæologia*, vol. vii, p. 320.

on this coast, and in territories originally inhabited by a Mah-ratta race, than are to be met with in any other part of India. The caves of Elephanta, those of Kanara, Amboli, and some others on the island of Salsette, the fine cave of Carli on the road by the Bor Ghat to Poona, the still more extensive and magnificent ranges at Ellora, not to mention some smaller cave-temples in the Kokan and near the Adjanta pass,† are all on Mahratta ground, and seem to show the existence of some great and powerful dynasty, which must have reigned many years to complete works of such labour and extent. The existence of temples of opposite characters, and of different and hostile religions, only a few miles from each other, and in some instances, as at Ellora, even united in the same range, is a singular fact, which well deserves to excite the attention, and exercise the industry, of the Indian antiquary.

All travellers who have visited Egypt and India have been irresistibly struck with the resemblance between the temples of Egypt and the excavations of India, as well in the massy dignity of the whole, as in the arrangement and form of the temple and the appearance of the figures. Many articles in the mythology of these countries also exhibit a singular coincidence; but no judicious comparison has hitherto been instituted between the architecture, sculpture, and mythology of the two countries.

* *Note*.—About a quarter of a mile to the S.E. of these caves, * 250 there is another set of considerable extent; but as the rain during the monsoon runs into them and carries great quantities of earth along with it, they have been in a great measure filled up. Some of the statues appear half out of the earth; they belong to the Hindû mythology, and appear to be of respectable workmanship. Should the mania of Hinduism ever invade us, the stream of rain during the monsoon which has filled them, might with a little ingenuity be employed as the means of removing the rubbish that has been accumulated.

On the very top of the hill in which are the caves there is a figure of a small tiger or lion of rude workmanship.

† The stupendous excavations on the fortified rock of Dowlutabad, within a few miles of Ellora, might be added as an example of a similar sort of architecture (if it may be so called), for a different purpose indeed, but in the same territory and by the same race.

[NOTE.—See Journal B. B. R. A. Society, vol. I., p. 40, Couto's Decades VII., bk. III., chap. xi., Pagoda of Elephanta; vol. III., p. 41, the Rev. Dr. Wilson's Account of Elephanta Caves; vol. IV., p. 261, the Rev. Dr. Stevenson's Theory of the Great Elephanta Cave; id., p. 341, Second Memoir by Dr. Wilson; see also Journal R. A. S., vol. III., p. 100, footnote 1; vol. V., p. 81, Paper by Col. Sykes; id., p. 324, Bust of Siva at—; id., vol. VIII., p. 83 (Fergusson's Rock-cut Temples of India); Asiatic Journal, 1816, vol. II., p. 546 (Visit to—by Captain Basil Hall); see also Daniell's Views of Agra, Delhi, &c., and of Elephanta and Salsette; Symbolical Nature of the Sculpture at—*vide* Antiquities of Orissa by Bábu Rajendralál Mitra, vol. I., pp. 34, 51; Asiatic Researches, vol. IV., p. 409, Some Account of the Cave of Elephanta by J. Goldingham; vol. VI., p. 251 (note—in an article on the Literature and Religion of the Burmas by Dr. F. Buchanan); vol. XVII., p. 188, Berncastel's Voyage to China, including a Visit to the Bombay Presidency, &c., 2 vols.

Besides the above references, I give the following notes, for which I have to thank one of our most active members—Dr. Da Cunha:—

“Among the principal accounts of the cave-temples of Elephanta by European writers, that of John Huighen van Linschoten, written in 1579, is generally considered the earliest ever written. Long before him, however, the celebrated physician of the king Dom João III. of Portugal, Dr. Garcia d'Orta, had described the temple in his 'Colloquios,' printed in Goa in 1563. (See Subsídios para a Historia da India Portuguesa, &c., by Rodrigo J. de L. Felner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 160-161.) He first saw the cave-temple in 1534 and describes it thus:—‘There is another pagoda, better than all others, in an island called Pori, which we name “the island of the elephant.” There is a hill in it, and at the top of this hill an underground dwelling hewn out of a living rock. The dwelling is as large as a monastery, and has open courts and cisterns of very good water. On the walls around, there are large sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers, and of many human figures, such as amazons, and other various kinds, well cut. At present this pagoda is much damaged by the cattle that enter there; but in 34 (1534), when I came from Portugal, it was really worth seeing. I saw it then when we were at war with Bassein (Baçaim), which place was soon afterwards given by the king of Cambay (Cambaia) to Nuno da Cunha.’ (See Colloquios, by Dr. Garcia d'Orta, 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1872, p. 212.) When the Portuguese took possession of the island of Elephanta as one of the dependencies of Bassein, it was rented to one João Pires for the annual quit-rent of 105 pardaos. It was in his hands as late as the year 1548. (See Subsídios, *ut supra*, pp. 157-158.) Some time after it was transferred to Manuel Rebello da Silva, who, again, made it over to his daughter Dona Rosa Maria Manuel d'Almeida, married to Lopo de Mello Sampaio, on the 22nd April 1616, and whose descendants

were living in Bassein as late as 1848. (*See Diccionario Historico Explicativo*, by F. N. Xavier, Nova-Gôa, 1848, p. 52.)

"Diogo do Couto, who, writing about the first decade of the seventeenth century, says that he 'had visited the cave of Elephanta fifty years ago,' must have seen them about 25 years after Dr. Garcia d'Orta. (*See Decadas VII.*, bk. III., chap. xi.) Diogo do Couto refers to an inscription which was at the door of the caves and was carried away to Portugal. When the island of Elephanta came into the possession of the Portuguese, the stone, it is said, was removed and shown to a Viceroy, and then sent to Portugal, where it was said to be lost. If there was any Viceroy or Governor who took much interest in inscriptions, it was Dom João de Castro. So it would be but natural if one were to look for this lost stone among the spoils or property of that distinguished man. This is exactly what has been done, and the honour of this search and the discovery of this slab are entirely due to an Englishman, although he did not know what it was about. Mr. James Murphy, Architect, in his 'Travels in Portugal,' published in London in 1795, says that a Sanscrit inscription was discovered by him in the 'Penha Verde,' a garden-house situated in the beautiful Portuguese sanitarium of Cintra, and formerly the residence of Dom João de Castro. It was in Murphy's time inhabited by one of his descendants. Dom João de Castro died in Goa on the 14th June 1548, and was buried in the Franciscan Church, from whence his bones were translated to the chapel belonging to his villa at Cintra. For further particulars I refer to Murphy's work above mentioned."

I trust we may soon have a copy of this remarkable inscription secured for our Journal.

"Another fact worth noting is the mention Erskine makes of 'a ruined Portuguese edificio,' close to the 'large and clumsy elephant cut out of an insulated black rock.' Now this 'ruined edifice,' which has hitherto remained unknown to the English reader, was a tower equipped with guns for the defence of the island against the pirates' 'paraos,' which were in the habit of infesting the neighbourhood. This tower had, besides, a flagstaff, which used to hoist a peculiar sort of flag as a signal to the Portuguese vessels to keep away from the island when surrounded by the pirates' boats. (*See Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. III., pp. 261-262. In the same pages a description of the island and caves is found as observed in 1634.)"—ED.]

REMARKS ON THE SUBSTANCE CALLED GEZ,
OR MANNA,

FOUND IN PERSIA AND ARMENIA.

By Captain EDWARD FREDERICK, of the Bombay Establishment.

Read 28th September 1813.

At entertainments in Persia a sweetmeat called *gezangabeen* is usually met with, the pleasant taste and other singular properties of which, as well as the mystery that involved its origin, excited my curiosity to know if it were an animal or a vegetable production.

The principal ingredient in its composition is a white gummy substance called *gez*, which when mixed up with rose-water, flour, and pistachio-nuts into flat round cakes, that are generally made three inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch thick, has much the appearance and feel of common dough, though a little more hard. It is at the same time both adhesive and brittle, for any attempt to cut it shows the former quality, as it sticks to the knife; and if pulled, it admits of being drawn out to some length like birdlime. The mode, however, generally practised of breaking it for use, is by placing one cake on the palm of the hand somewhat hollowed and striking it with the other, when the blow occasions it to fly into several pieces, whose edges, rather unexpectedly, appear smooth and polished like broken glass.

Hardly any of the inhabitants of the provinces of Fars and Irak with whom I conversed, could afford me anything like accurate information of the manner and place in which this singular substance was procured; the most intelligent of them candidly acknowledged their ignorance of the matter, merely saying that they believed it came from some place between Isfahan and Hummadan.

No traveller with whose works I am acquainted makes the slightest * mention of either the gez, or the shrub on * 252 which it is found, except Chardin ; and even he, with the addition of the copious notes that are subjoined by his learned editor to the latest edition of his travels, affords but little satisfaction, and that through the medium of hearsay information.

Both the existence of manna and the mode of its production appear to have been objects of anxious research with M. Niebuhr during his visit to Arabia Petræa, a country which abounds, by his description, with prickly shrubs that are likely to produce such a substance : yet little success attended his labours, for he complains that his inquiries at Suez were answered in the most provoking manner by the fabulous tales of a monk, to which he prudently refused a place in his travels, from their bearing too much the air of a monastic legend. At Bussora he seems to have been better pleased as to the result of his inquiries. A specimen of the Tarandjubi manna was given him in round grains of a yellowish hue, and said to be found in Persia on a prickly shrub ; it was considered very nourishing, and when newly gathered had no purgative qualities. It was much used as a sugar in dishes of meat, and particularly in pastry.

However unwilling to place my own opinions in opposition to the authority of so intelligent and accurate a traveller as Niebuhr, still I cannot avoid thinking that he might have mistaken the dammah (the juice expressed from dates newly gathered) for an inferior kind of manna, which it resembles much by his description in colour and sweetness ; and this idea is strengthened by the uses to which they are in common applied. The dammah is however not absolutely in a granulated state, but is very generally used in cookery as a substitute for sugar by the middle and lower classes of people, both at Bagdad and Bussora.

Chardin states* that amongst the variety of botanical information which he obtained during his stay at Isfahan, he under-

* Chardin's *Travels*, vol. iii., p. 295.

stood that the tree which bears the manna, of which there are many sorts, was also found in Persia. "The best is yellowish and large-grained, and is brought from Nichapoor, a country of Bactriana. The second is called the manna of the tamarisk, because the tree from which it distils is so named; it grows * in abundance in the province of Susiana, and particularly about Dawrac, a place in the Persian Gulf, * 253 which is the Araca† of Ptolemy. The third sort is liquid; it is gathered about Isfahan upon a sort of tree larger than the tamarisk, of which the bark is polished and shining. The leaves of this tree distil the liquid manna in summer, which they say is not a dew, but an exudation from the tree congealed upon the leaf; you see it in the morning on the earth, and it is the richest of all. They employ it in medicine, as well as the manna of the tamarisk, and it is as sweet as the other kind."

It is however to be observed that the tamarisk bears no resemblance to the gavan, the bush on which the *gez* is found; and although I am confident that Chardin alludes to the same substance which I saw, yet it appears extraordinary that he never speaks of the sweetmeat.

Let it however be recollected that Chardin did not visit the places of which he here speaks, but entered Persia from Georgia on the north, passed down the country through Tebriz, Sooltanea, Koom, and Kashan to Isfahan; thus moving many degrees to the westward of those countries of Khozistan, Irak, and some parts of Koordistan, which are the only ones that produce the *gez*, or manna, as the Armenians call it. The route which I took was also part of that which Chardin had travelled, but I was pursuing one in almost a contrary direction when I saw the *gez*; being at that time on the road through Gilpacgan and Khorumabad to Kermanshah, which latter place is situated on the borders of Koordistan, lying in the 34th degree of north latitude, within which parallel the *gez* also abounds on the hills

† According to Dr. Vincent (in his Voyage of Nearchus, p. 362), the Araca of Ptolemy is situated near Bushire; he believes it to be the same island which Niebuhr calls Laredge (S.S.) The modern Larrock.

of Koordistan. I was, however, unable to ascertain its precise appearance and consistency in its native state, when seen in this neighbourhood. But the similarity of climate and mountainous aspect of country in the vicinity of Moosh† and Ahmudea producing the same shrubs, obviously led me to conjecture it must be the produce of an insect there also, as well as when found on the gavan in Persia. •

* All my endeavours to gain information relative to the
 * 254 *gez* were for some time fruitless, being commonly answered with fables and ridiculous stories too improbable to deserve credit, and too idle to be here related; but fortunately on my return from Hummadan I struck out to the right from the common road, and halting one day at the town of Khonsar, a place beautifully romantic from the wildness and luxuriance of its scenery, I heard from the inhabitants that its neighbourhood was celebrated for its *gez*, and that it was the production of an animal like a louse. This news excited no slight sensation of pleasure, as it held out a prospect of the accomplishment of my anxious wishes. That so little should be known of so singular a substance, even in the very vicinity of the place of its production, is, amongst many other instances, a proof of the ignorance and indifference of the Persians regarding the general knowledge and geography of their own country; for at Isfahan, which is only one hundred miles distant from Khonsar, and intimately connected with it by the constant intercourse of caravans of merchants, as well as innumerable pilgrims annually going to Nedgef, I was repeatedly told the most palpable absurdities of the *gez* being a dew that fell from heaven in autumn.‡ Had the Armenians accounted for it in this way in allusion to the manna received by the Israelites in the wilderness, it would have excited no astonishment, as they call it manna.

† The ancient Maxoene.

‡ "The Usbek merchants trade chiefly in the higher Tartary, Muscovy, and the Indies. They carry thither silk and a great deal of manna, which they call *sherkest*, which signifies the milk of a tree, because this drug is white. 'Tis a dew that falls on the trees, and dropping from their branches, they reduce it into small grains, which the people put into glasses for sale."—*History of Genghiscan the Great*, by P. de la Croix, sen., p. 204.

But to return. Before daylight we marched from Khonsar, and, on clearing the boundaries of the town, deviated from the main road as we had been directed, and began rambling amongst the bushes on the face of the mountain on our right,* diligently looking for the *gez*. The directions we had received were to examine the bushes closely, as the object of our search was not easily visible at any distance; too much confidence, however, in the knowledge of our servants and guide, who with true Persian effrontery asserted they were familiar with the appearance of the *gez* in its natural state, nearly occasioned us a complete disappointment. We had relinquished the pursuit in very ill humour, to resume our journey, when we met, as chance would have it, two peasants proceeding to the very spot we had just quitted: as usual we accosted them, and were not a little pleased at hearing they were the people whose occupation it was to gather the *gez*. This lucky meeting set the impertinence of our servants in its true light, and convinced us that both they and the guide were as ignorant of the matter as ourselves, for we had been instructed by them to examine the tops instead of the interior of the bushes, which we might have persevered in without effect until Doomsday. The confusion of the guide, who held a respectable rank in life, was excessive, when we laughed at the circumstance of a Persian swearing by the head of his king (a very serious oath in Persia) that he had seen that which it was clear he had never looked upon.

The men alluded to were furnished with a stick three-fourths of an inch in diameter and curved at the further extremity, which was covered with leather, and a kind of oval leathern bowl near three feet long and two broad with a handle to it, resembling an egg-shell cut in two longitudinally. Besides these, they had a sieve suspended from the right side, to free the *gez* from the insects and small pieces of leaf that generally fell with it when first beat from the bush: the bottom of the sieve was of coarse woollen cloth.

The countrymen were easily persuaded by a trifling present to fall immediately to work and show us a specimen of their

employment. They turned off the road a few yards amongst the bushes we had just quitted, and placing the leathern receptacle underneath, they beat the bushes on the top with the crooked stick; in a few minutes they had obtained a handful of a white kind of sticky substance not unlike hoarfrost, of a very rich sweet taste: this, after being purified by boiling, is mixed up into the sweetmeat before mentioned under the name of *gezungabecn*.

Though the *gez* when fresh gathered from the gavan bush admits of being sifted, still in this original state it is brittle and adhesive at the same * time, qualities for which it is so * 256 remarkable after its preparation as a sweetmeat. If pressed, it sticks to the fingers; but on being smartly struck with a bit of wood separates easily into small grains like lump sugar. It is in this state in cool weather, or when the thermometer does not exceed 68°; but liquefies on being exposed to a heat above that temperature, resembling white honey both in colour and taste.

The shrub on which the *gez* is found is called the gavan; it grows from a small root to the height of about two feet and a half, spreading into a circular form at the top from three to four feet and a half in circumference. Captain Stewart, the gentleman with whom I was travelling, remarked that it had a striking resemblance to the broom, but did not, we were informed, bear a yellow flower. The leaves were small and narrow, and underneath we saw the *gez* spread all over the tender branches like white uneven threads, with innumerable little insects creeping slowly about.

These little creatures appeared to derive their subsistence from the leaves and young bark of the bush they inhabit; and this is the opinion of the country people. They are either three distinct species of insects, or one in three different stages of existence: one kind is perfectly red, and so diminutive as to be scarcely perceptible; the second dark, and very like a common louse though not so large; and the third exactly a very small fly. They are all extremely dull and sluggish, and are found lying or creeping about between the bark of the gavan

and the *gez*. The peasants, as well as the inhabitants of Khonsar, were decidedly of opinion that this curious substance is the production of these diminutive animals, as neither the insects nor the *gez* are found on any other tree in the neighbourhood; nor can we be allowed to imagine it may be a vegetable gum, as no appearance of any gummy liquid oozing from fissures in the bark of the bush could be observed on the closest examination. The people who are engaged in the collection of this curious article continue their occupation every third day for twenty-eight days during this season of the year (September), when they find a renewal of the *gez*; but if oftener repeated, they said their work would be attended with no success, as the insects would be too much exhausted.

* There is, however, another method in which the *gez* is said to be produced in the hilly parts of Looristan, which * 257 province and Khonsar are the only places in Persia where it is found. There, common report gives it out to be a dew that settles on the leaves of the oak, which in this country is a stunted tree, in comparison with that of English growth; and "were a cloth," they say, "to be spread on the ground, and allowed to remain there all night, it would on the ensuing morning be found covered with the *gez*," like large crystal drops of dew, such as are seen on plants in the early part of the morning in England. This sort, however, is not held in such estimation as that procured near Khonsar, which latter I look upon as unquestionably an animal production.†

As I am only anxious to state plainly such facts as were witnessed by myself, and to add such additional information as I could procure from the observation of others, without the slightest inclination to adduce any theory of my own, I shall cite every authority or information connected with the subject that I have been able to procure, however much they may differ from my own observations. Amongst others, the author of the *Toofutl Momoneen*, an esteemed Oriental work, under the

† It is to be remarked that common bee-honey, though not abundant, is well known in Persia, and considered a great luxury for breakfast when fresh, and is also fermented and preserved for winter use.

article *Gezungabeen*, says, "Gezungabeen is a dew which falls on the tamarisk (*gez*) and on similar trees; it is like manna (turunjabin), and congeals. The best is found upon the *beod* (or willow); that taken from the *gez* (or tamarisk) and the *bulloct* (or oak) is of a costive nature. It ought to be white and pure, and not mixed with leaves." Another work states that the "Gezungabeen is a substance like manna (turungabeen) which falls on the leaves of the *toorfa*; the best is produced at Kaccn and Naecn (the former in Khorassan and the latter in Persia). It is found in large grains like gum mastich."

A journey which I subsequently made to Bagdad convinced me that the *gez* was not exclusively confined to the above-mentioned places, but was found in the neighbourhood of some towns in the range of mountains * running through * 258 Koordistan, dividing Persia from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, where it is called manna by the Armenians, and said to be exported in quantities through Erzeroom and Constantinople into Europe for medicinal purposes, and used in the same manner as the Sicilian manna. Botanists describe this latter as a vegetable gum procured in Calabria and Sicily, and exuding from the *Fraxinus* or wild ash; but there is certainly some reason to suppose that more accurate observation may at some future period prove it to be the production of the Aphis tribe, instead of a vegetable gum, as is at present believed. Their medicinal properties appear to be the same.

(Signed) E. FREDERICK.

Note.—The ingenious author of this paper was not probably aware that the celebrated naturalist Gmelin, during his travels in Persia, had as little success as former travellers in discovering the plant on which the *gez* is found. The following extract from the *Histoire des Découvertes faites par divers Savans Voyageurs*, tome ii., p. 356, Lausanne, 1784, in giving an account of Gmelin's travels, contains some curious particulars:—"La manne Persique, appelée dans le pays *therenabîn*, est une production de la province de Peria, peu distante d'Ispahan; on l'y recueille sur les feuilles d'un arbre épineux inconnu à M. Gmelin. Cette manne est blanche comme la neige, et ses grains sont de la grosseur de la semence de coriandre. On dit que les paysans du pays ont

grand soin de la récolter avant le lever du soleil. L'un d'eux se place sous l'arbre un tamis à la main, tandis qu'un autre frappant avec un bâton sur les feuilles et sur les épines, fait tomber la manne dans le tamis, d'où on la serre dans une caisse, ou dans un sac de peau. Pour peu qu'on attendit le lever du soleil, l'on ne recueilleroit rien, vu que la chaleur fait bientôt fondre cette matière qui s'évapore ensuite. On emploie cette manne dans les confitures, et les médecins Persans la prescrivent très-souvent comme un doux purgatif, même dans les maladies de poitrine. Il existe en Perse une autre sorte de manne, dont le lieu natal est la province de Chorasán ; elle se forme en volute, purge avec plus de violence que celle de la première espèce sans affecter cependant beaucoup la poitrine : elle n'a pas non plus un goût aussi agréable, ni la même blancheur, et s'appelle en Persan *serchista*."

[NOTE.—*Gez* گز is the Persian name for the Tamarisk tree, *Gezangabin* گزانگبین Basra honey, manna, bitter honey, Richardson's *Persian Dict.*

The *Torangabin* is defined as follows in the *Burhān Dictionary*:—
 ترنگبین بروزن و معنی ترنجبین است و آن دارویی باشد شیرین
 گویند مانند شبنم بر خار شتر می نشیند و بعربی من خوانند و ترنجبین
 معرب آن است گویند روزی دم صبحی بود که از آسمان مانند برف
 بر قوم موسی علیه السلام بارید

"*Torangabin* homophonous and synonymous with *Toranjabin*, is a sweet medicine said to adhere to camel-briars like dew, and called *Mann* in Arabic, and *Toranjabin* is an Arabised word. It is said that one day the morning breeze wafted it from heaven like snow upon the people of Moses (blessings on him!)."

In Mr. E. Rehatsek's Catalogue of the Mullá Firúz Library, section V., No. 3, the Manna, which is there called *U'sl-nakhl*, is described as a kind of sweet dew found on blossoms and on leaves, but which spoils if it be not gathered fresh.

I would refer also to the account given in vol. III., pp. 139, 140, of Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, 2nd edition (1873, Madras), title *Manna*, and the authorities therein collected; as also to vol. XIV., pp. 266, 267, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed., under the same title;—vol. XIV., p. 386, *Penny Cyclopædia*, gives the different kinds of Manna;—and some information is to be gathered from Dr. Birdwood's *Bombay Products*, p. 9 (published in 1862, Bombay), *Graham's Catalogue of Plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity* (1839), p. 11, Order 17, Natural Ord. *Tamariscineæ*, 80 gen. *T. Gallica*, and 81 *T. Dioica*: Persian *Gaz*. The Sanskrita *Pichula* seems to be the plant called Indian Tamarisc: see 4 *Asiatic Researches*, 268 (4to ed.). At page 184, vol. 14, *Asiatic Re-*

searches, is a paper by Major-General Thomas Hardwick, who tries to show that the *manna* or Gez is a substance produced by an insect. From the researches of later writers, however, the references to whose works are given above, I am inclined to think that it is a vegetable exudation or gum.—Ed.]

REMARKS ON THE PROVINCE OF KATTIWAR; ITS INHABITANTS, THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

By Lieutenant JAMES MACMURDO, of the Bombay Establishment.

Read 30th November 1813.

THE peninsula of Guzerat, commonly known under the name of Kattiwar, is situated within the 69th and 72nd degrees of east longitude and the 20th and 23rd of north latitude. It is divided into districts as follow :—

1, Jhallawar. 2, Kattiwar. 3, Goilwar. 4, Muchoo Kaunta. 5, Hallar. 6, Soruth. 7, Babriawar. 8, Jaitwar, also called Burdah. And the small peninsula of Oka Mundul forms the 9th and least important division of the country.

1. Jhallawar, which derives its name from the Jhalla Rajpoots who inhabit it, is the most northerly district. The face of the country is level, and, excepting in the neighbourhood of villages, destitute of wood. Its chief produce in grain is wheat, a great quantity of which is exported from the seaports, and also supplies the markets of Guzerat. Cotton is exported from Jhallawar in considerable quantities; it is sent to Kutch from the ports in the Gulf, and is likewise carried to Guzerat or conveyed direct from Dholera, Gogo, and Bhownuggur to the southward.

The Teelaat or elder branch of the Jhallas is the family now possessing Vankaner, although that of Hulwud and Drangdra are considered of more consequence; both of these towns are of importance in the ancient history of the district, but now fallen greatly to decay.

2. Kattiwar also takes its name from its inhabitants, the Katty tribe. This division has Goilwar on the eastern, and part of Jhallawar and Hallar on the northern and western

sides: it extends from Palliad in a south-western direction as far as the neighbourhood of Soruth and Babriawar.

* 260 * The district is large, and its soil and appearance, of course, variable; but, generally speaking, the former is of a sandy nature much mixed with a reddish-coloured rock, of which last the hills are composed, and these, though not lofty, are numerous, and, being very deficient in wood, contribute to give the district a barren and uncultivated aspect. Its produce in grain is confined to the coarser sorts, among which bajaree and jowaree are abundant; to these may be added a second or after harvest of wheat, available in February.

This crop is produced by irrigation from the wells with which the more southern parts of Kattiwar abound. The horses of this district are generally supposed to be the best breed in the peninsula, and the Kattces themselves give a preference to those bred in the Chotula hill.

3. Goilwar, governed by the Goil Rajpoots, is a small but populous and fertile tract, lying between Kattiwar and the sea-coast, the chief city in which is Bhownuggur.† This district produces almost every grain, and exports a considerable quantity from the seaports, of which there are several. There is also an *ambawun* or mango-forest; it extends for about a couple of miles, and is remarkable as being almost the only thing of the kind in the peninsula. The face of Goilwar, although generally plain, has several remarkable mountains, among which may be mentioned those of Palitana and Seroi.

4. Muchoo Kaunta, inhabited by Rajpoots, is the country lying on the banks of the river Muchoo, as the name implies. Moorbee is the principal town in the district, and was granted to the ancestors of the present family (who are a younger branch of the Rao of Kutch) in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the emperor Akbar, in return for the surrender of the unfortunate sultan Muzuffur of Guzerat, who, on being expelled from his sovereignty, had taken refuge at the court of the

† This town is perhaps improperly placed in Goilwar, but it is the capital of the Goils

Rao. The Talooka of Muchoo Kaunta is naturally favoured by a good soil and abundance of water; but it is at present in a deplorable state: its population has fled, and the country exhibits an appearance of poverty seldom * met with in the peninsula. This may be attributed to its peculiar situation, exposed to the inroads of * 261 plunderers from the barbarous district of Wagur, and to the constant annoyance for a series of years from the thieves of Mallia, which place is only distant sixteen miles from Moorbee.

5. Hallar, which takes its name from the Halla Rajpoots of the Jharejah tribe, extends from Muchoo Kaunta along the whole coast of the Runn, as far as the district of Oka Mundul in a south-west direction, and nearly to Gondul and Rajcote on the south-east side. It would be impossible minutely to describe the features of so large an extent of country; but it may be remarked that the eastern parts are hilly and rocky, and that the whole district is deficient in wood. The soil is light, and well calculated for the production of bajaree and jowaree; and many parts for wheat. The bajaree of Hallar and the cotton from the upper parts of the district about Amrun and Jooria are exported in great quantities to Kutch. The principal town is the seaport of Noanuggur, which is extensive and populous; here are manufactories of cloth of all descriptions, much valued among the natives. The dye which is given to cloth here is esteemed superior to that of almost any part of Kutch or Kattiwar, and is attributed to the quality of the water of the river Nagne, which washes the walls of the capital. Piece-goods are here manufactured for the African and Arabian markets. Not far from Noanuggur are two or three beds of pearl oysters, the property of the raja: they produce pearls of an inferior quality; but from an ignorance of the proper method of treating them, the beds have been nearly exhausted. The rajas of Noanuggur have the title of Jam,† which they derive from their Sindian ancestors.

† There are several derivations of this title given by historians; Mahomedans who possess it derive it from Jumshede, and Hindoos from the word *jum*, "fixed" or "firm."

6. Soruth, by which name the whole peninsula was known to the Mahomedans, is the district which may be said to encompass the mountains of Joonaghur to the distance of thirty miles or upwards. This division is probably the most fertile, and from its being tolerably well wooded has a more pleasing appearance than any in the whole province, although flat and possessing little variety. The sea-coast, from Mangrole as far as the * island of Deo, is generally included in Soruth, * 262 as being subject to Joonaghur ; but it is often called Nagerwar, its original name when held by the Nagair Rajpoots. Joonaghur, in common with the greatest part of the peninsula, was subject to the Choorasena Rajpoots, when Rao Khengar, a brother of the Rao of Kutch, invaded and established his authority there. Sultan Mahmood Begura, who reigned in Guzerat in the year 1436, conquered Joonaghur from Rao Mundileck, since which time it has been at different periods the residence of Moghul soobildars and independent Mahomedan governments.

7. Babriawar (so called from the Babria tribe of Coolies, who formerly possessed great part of Kattiwar and Goilwar, but were driven by the Katties to the district at present holding their name) comprises the part of the peninsula terminating in Deo island. It is a mountainous and woody tract of country possessing few towns, and producing barely sufficient for its own consumption. This district has been seldom explored until of late years, both on account of the natural difficulties and of the barbarous character which was attributed to its inhabitants, who seldom mixed with their more polished neighbours. The timber procured in Babriawar is of the large but useless kind. The seaport of Jaffrabad is properly in Babriawar ; and the Seedeos, who have in the course of several generations multiplied in that neighbourhood, have formed some distinct villages, where they live a life of industry, and collect for sale great quantities of excellent wild honey. The mountains of Babriawar afford a never-failing pasture ; and during the scarcity of that article in 1812-3 almost the whole of the cattle of the peninsula, amounting to several lakhs, were

assembled in the neighbourhood of Ghir, a town of some consequence in the district. The jungles are stocked with tigers, and the different species of the deer genus, from the neel ghya to the morse deer, both of which are in abundance. Many villages in the district pay a pecuniary acknowledgment to Joonaghur; but the Babria zemindars are neither sufficiently wealthy nor industrious to render any effectual establishment in their country an object of desire in the neighbouring governments.

8. Jaitwar, inhabited by the Jaitwa Rajpoots, comprises that part of * the coast within thirty miles of Porobunder, which is the seat of authority of the present sove- * 263 reign family. They are styled Ranas,† and originally dwelt at the city of Goomlee, the ruins of which are still to be seen and admired at the bottom and on the summit of the Burda hills. The district of Jaitwar generally speaking is flat, the soil light earth with rock, and not remarkably fertile. The want of wood, so prevalent throughout the province, is equally applicable to Jaitwar, and the water is in many parts brackish. Iron ore is smelted in considerable quantities in this district.

9. Oka Mundul is a division separated from the peninsula by a *runn* or backwater, which flows from the Gulf of Kutch at Pindh Tarut across the point of land, and is divided from the ocean at Muddee by a bank of sand of no great breadth. This *runn* is only overflowed at spring tides. The district is very small, and composed of hill and dale, the former of which is universally covered with milk-bush and babool jungle, and the latter in many parts under tillage, but barely supplying the wants of the inhabitants, who are by no means numerous.

The island of Bate,‡ which is included in Oka, is subject to a rana of the tribe of Wadhil or Wadhair Rajpoot; they also occupy many villages on the main land of Oka. The other zemindars are of the Waghair tribe of Rajpoots; they are

† This family are not uncommonly styled the *Puncheria* or tailed Ranas, from a vulgar tradition of their ancestor having had the end of his spinal bone carried to a preternatural length, resembling a tail.

‡ Properly Shunhoodhar.

originally fishermen, and have been (until late years) notorious pirates. The Teelaats of the two castes are Bate† of the Wadhair and Dwarka of the Waghairs; they are perfectly independent, and form the only families in the peninsula who have maintained themselves free from tribute, and in possession of their unlimited rights of grassias. The water of Oka is not good, and the rock much impregnated with iron ore.

The principal river in the peninsula is the Bhadur, which has its rise *in the northern and eastern parts of Kattiar in a hill called Mandwa near Jusdhuu, and flowing in a south-west direction passes Jaitpoor, Opleyta, and Gunnode, and, pursuing its course under the walls of Kattianna, falls into the sea at Nuvee Bunder, twelve or fifteen miles to the southward of Porebunder. The banks of this river are in general steep; which being favourable for irrigation, the whole length of its course, which is probably ninety miles in a direct line, is marked by land in the highest state of cultivation. In the monsoon, small boats navigate as far as Kattianna, about eighteen miles from its mouth. It is a saying in the country, that the Bhadur receives ninety-nine streams in its course. There is another Bhadur, which rises on the opposite side of the same hill, and pursues an eastern course through the north of Kattiar, passes near Palliad and Ranpoor, loses its name in that of Bogawa, and falls into the head of the Gulf of Cambay or into the runn near it. This is called the Sooka Bhadur; it is neither so large nor so useful a stream as the other. Next to the Bhadur is the Muchoo, which has its rise in the Sirdhar hills in the borders of Hallar, and pursuing a north-west course passes Wankaneer and Moorbee, and disembogues by many mouths into the runn at the head of the Gulf of Kutch near Mallia. This river has a rocky bed and generally low banks; it is remarkable for the size it attains in the short course of sixty or sixty-five miles.

The Ajee runs not far from Sirdhar, flows past Rajcote, and within two coss of Pordharce, where it receives the Maree

† Formerly Wusai (now a small village) was the Teelaat.

river, and pursuing a western direction falls into the Gulf of Kutch near Balumba in Hallar. Its course, like that of the Muchoo, is short, but the beauty of its stream and excellence of its waters are surpassed by no river in the province. Gold dust is found in small quantities in the bed of the Ajee near Rajcote, the chieftain of which had rings and other ornaments made of his native gold. The Sutrinje ought probably to be placed above the Ajee in the list of rivers, as it is considerably broader. It has its rise on the western side of the range of hills which form a part of the Joonaghur clump, and pursues a course to the east and southward, falling into the sea near* Tallaja, belonging to Bhownuggur. This river receives great *265 numbers of tributary streams from Joonaghur and the mountains of Babriawar, and is remarkable for retaining its waters for a long time without rain.

Independently of these there are several rivers of a considerable size, such as the Aund, Nugmuttie or Nagne, and Dehmoi; the former of which joins the Gulf of Kutch at Jooria, the next at Noanuggur, and the last rises in the Badilla hills in Kattiwar, and passing through the Muchoo Kaunta washes the walls of Tankara, and falls into the runn near Amrun. This peninsula is abundantly supplied with small streams, which answer every purpose of agriculture, and convey health and comfort to the inhabitants. From Kumballia in the south-west part of Hallar to Wankaneer on the north-east border of the same district, in a journey of ten days I passed forty-two streams of different sizes, but all possessing abundance of clear and excellent water.† The Reiva, a stream which has its rise in Babriawar and falls into the Sutrinje, deserves particular notice, not from the excellence of its water, but from its wild and romantic scenery, unparalleled in the province. It pursues its course over an alternately rocky and gravelly bed, varying in breadth from twenty to sixty or a hundred yards, buried as it were between lofty mountains, which rise abruptly

† They have often fanciful names; such as Roopa Rebe, silver waves; Phooljer, studded with flowers; Nagne, serpentine, &c.

from its bed covered with wood of the most large and beautiful kind; the bed of the river also abounds in the tree known by the native name of ihamboo, which here grows to a noble size, and the darkness of its leaves is finely contrasted with the lively and varied colours of the forest. A road leads in many parts along the bed of the Reiva; and the traveller in a broad and convenient path finds the heavens excluded from his view, or very partially seen through the small spaces left by the lofty mountains and the luxuriousness of their clothing.

The mountains in the peninsula are few; in those of Chotula in Kattiwar there is nothing remarkable, save the wildness of the country and barbarity of their Kattoo inhabitants.

* In Gailwar is the mountain of Pullitanna, famous * 266 for the Shrawuk temples which are on its summit.

Joonaghur or Gernar, and in the Sanscrit writings Rewtachul, is a clump of hills in Soruth, the loftiest and most remarkable of which is sacred. Its form is a long narrow ridge with six or seven peaks, and it runs in a direction nearly east and west. This sacred mountain is surrounded by others of a smaller size, leaving valleys between them and Gernar, the soil of which is composed of the rubbish earth washed from above. These valleys are not cultivated, but are covered with forest-wood and abound in mango-trees. The length of the centre mountain is probably twelve or fourteen miles. On the south side a branch of low mountains spring from the clump, and run in a southern direction into Babriawar. The pagodas or places of worship on the mountain are mean in appearance, but every spot on Gernar is sacred. The Burdah hills, which have been mentioned under the head of Jaitwar, consist of a clump of mountains near Porebunder, running from Goomlee on the north to Kundorna on the south extreme about twenty miles. This range is not above six miles in breadth, and the southernmost end is the lowest; they are in many places covered with low wood, and possess abundance of good water on their summits. An account of the ruins of Goomlee would be a curious paper. Another range of low hills commences near the Gope mountains, ten miles from Goomlee, and runs

nearly parallel to the Burdah range to Dhaunk, which town is on the southern extreme. A valley is formed by the two ranges, watered by the Mensa river: there are other hills detached and standing single in plains, such as Ashum near Gunode, Gope near Goomlee, Alies near Dhaunk, and many others; they generally run in sharp ridges north and south. The province abounds in places of worship and objects of sanctity in the Hindoo creed; Dwarka, Bate, Somnath Puttun, and Gernar, are of themselves sufficient to immortalize the country; but it would be a difficult and almost endless task to attempt a description of each. Somnath is one of the *prachast*† of the Hindoos.

* Thirty miles to the southward of Porebunder, near Mahadoopoor, is the supposed spot where the original * 267 or Mool Dwarka stood, until swallowed up by the ocean. Here it is that the bird annually makes its appearance from the foam of the waves, and by its colour enables the Brahmins to predict the nature of the approaching monsoon. This practice, which is mentioned in the Ayeene Akberee, is still prevalent; and the useful bird continues annually to peck grain, dance before the god, and die, as he did two hundred years ago. Twenty coss from Omrellee (a Guicawar fortstown in Kattiwar), on the borders of Babriawar, is a temple of some note called Toolsee Shaum.‡ Here is a hot spring built as a reservoir, in length about twenty feet and in breadth eight or ten; the water does not burn, but it causes the body to smart in bathing; I visited it in November, and the water is said to be much hotter in the cold months of December and January. The pagoda and spring are situated in a valley just large enough to admit of a small garden, and a stream of the hot water finds its way out from the hills by a narrow path shaded by date-trees. It is remarkably wild, and far from any habitation, and in the neighbourhood of the romantic stream of the Rewa.

† The three Teeruk on the Sirsootty or Sirswutty, viz. Prag, Sidhpoor, and Somnath. [Teeruk is probably Tirthas.—ED.]

‡ Toolsee and Sidashaye. [Should be Vishnu.—ED.]

On the borders of Oka, at a place called Pindhtarut, † is a mineral spring of pink-coloured water, which is overflowed by spring-tides. It is held sacred by the Hindoos, who throw into it the remains of their deceased relations.

An object deserving more notice and investigation than I am capable of affording, is the runn or swamp which surrounds the peninsula, and in fact makes it an island. The Gulf of Kutch penetrates as far as Patree and Bujanna in Jhallawar, where it is joined by a similar swamp, which is connected with the Gulf of Cambay near Dholera. It would require a dissertation to do justice to this extraordinary piece of water; but I may observe that it is annually and visibly increasing on the west side. There is also a tradition well known and generally believed,

that the voice of man could be heard from Kutch to * 268 Kattiwar; and opposite Jooria, now * a seaport, there was a footpath at low water; but such is the obscurity in which the transactions of yesterday are involved among the natives of the country, that even this last circumstance, which is attributed to a comparatively modern date, or about two hundred years ago, is merely a legend, the truth of which is not substantiated by any facts or records. As high up as Patree, salt is made in great quantities on this marsh, and carried up to Hindoostan. In concluding this remark, it may be observed that a similar runn or waste surrounds Kutch from Lukput Bunder on the west to Arriset on the east, where it falls into the Kattiwar runn opposite Halwud in Jhallawar. This runn is at present dry, produces no vegetation, and only salt water. *Runn* or *erun* would appear to have the several significations of a waste or unproductive swamp, a desert, and a celebrated field of battle, where much blood had been spilt. In this peninsula the thermometer, as far as partial observation can be supposed to be correct, seldom stands in the hottest weather in May above 102° in a tent, and in the coldest season of January hardly ever below 45°, although I have observed it

† The village has its name from the spring, which is called Pindh Teerut.

lower.† In some places the hot winds prevail in May and June; but the general climate of the peninsula may be considered dry and healthy, with a westerly wind all the fair season. In December and January there are east and north-east winds with remarkably thick fogs, which disperse as the sun rises; but they have not been remarked as unhealthy to Europeans, who do not appear to suffer from them.

The state of society which obtains throughout the peninsula, although somewhat similar to that which prevails in other parts of India, yet as it is curious and in many respects singular, may be considered deserving attention. It would be a task of no small labour to give a distinct account of the manners and customs peculiar to each of the castes who inhabit this province; but as a series of years has unavoidably produced a similarity in many of the inferior particulars, and in some an entire uniformity, whilst I attempt to delineate the state of the country and its form of government, I shall at the same time take a general view of the habits of * life of its inhabitants, occasionally noticing any prominent peculiarities of the * 269 different tribes.

The inhabitants of the province of Kattiwar may be classed under the following heads:—

1. Rajpoots, among whom there are several tribes, standing in power and wealth thus: 1. Jharejah, 2. Jhalla, 3. Goil, and 4. Jetwah.

2. Kattees, of whom there are the three families, Walla, Khacher, and Khooman; they are originally of the same stock, but have now their respective districts.

3. Koolies, Kauts, and Sindies called Bawars.

4. Koombies, Mares, Ahars, Rehbaries, and the other industrious classes.

The Jharejahs, who are the most powerful and numerous of the Rajpoot tribes, and who possess all the western part of the peninsula, are a branch of the family of the Rao of Kutch, who

† A mean of the mercury at noon during the three months of December, January, and February 1809-10, gives 86° 4.

in consequence of intestine feuds left their country about A.D. 800; and having crossed the Runn at the head of the Gulf of Kutch, established themselves upon the ruins of the Jetwah Rajpoots and a few petty Mahomedan authorities, which at that time existed in Halar.

The lands appear to have been divided in common among the whole tribe; the *teeluat* or eldest branch of the family reserving to itself the largest portion, whilst the *byaud*† held their respective villages by a pure feudal tenure. This system was not an innovation of the Jharejahs, as it equally obtained among the Choorassmas and Jetwas prior to their arrival in the country. The expressive term of “Kerow Kow,” or, Cultivate and eat, comprehends the whole system of government for many years, until the limits of the respective possessions had become defined by established usage, and certain customs, from the same cause, began to operate as laws, and secure the peace and safety of society; and these customs in fact formed the only trace of civil jurisprudence to be found in the country.

Notwithstanding the encroachment which the establishment of a limited number of people in a confined tract of territory might be supposed * to have enabled the chieftains to *270 effect upon the original rights of their byaud, still it would appear that the latter tenaciously maintained their authority in their respective villages; and so far from admitting of any invasion of their rights, or allowing their superiors to interfere in the concerns of what they termed their grass,‡ it in a few years required persuasion, or even promises of reward, to induce the byaud to fulfil the tenure by which they held their lands, of serving with their adherents in cases of general danger, which they had originally done from a sense of veneration and attachment to the head of the tribe.

The establishment of the Kattees was made much in the

† Brotherhood.

‡ *Grass*, a word signifying “a mouthful.” This word is understood in some parts of Mekran, Sind, and Kutch; but I believe not further up Hindostan than Jaypoor.

same manner, though at an earlier period by thirty or forty years than that of the Jharejals. The Kattoes originally inhabited the country on the borders of the river Indus, and their migration thence can be traced by tradition with tolerable accuracy. Immediately prior to their entrance into Kattiwar, they are known to have inhabited the tract which forms the present western boundary of Kutch; and not more than one hundred years ago, I am told that some remains of the Kattee tribe were to be discovered at Koonria, a village in the district of Putchum to the north-west of Bhooj. From this race of men not being noticed in the history of the neighbouring countries, it may be presumed that their residence was temporary, a circumstance which coincides with the pastoral habits of the people, and with the wandering life which they themselves attributed to their ancestors. I have not been able to ascertain correctly the causes for the migration of the Kattees from Putchum; but it is probable that it was induced by a desire of plunder, and of pasture for their numerous herds; or it may have arisen from the unsettled state in which the government of the western countries was constantly involved, and from the spirit of religious persecution which the Mahomedans of those countries appear to have inherited from their enthusiastic ancestors the immediate descendants of the Prophet, and who first drew the sword of reform on the confines of India.†

* Whatever may have been the cause for this change of situation of the Kattoes, they certainly crossed the * 271 waste tract of land between Kutch and Guzerat, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the town of Thaun, which is on the borders of Kattiwar and Jhallawar. In so doing they appear still to have been guided by the desire of finding pasture for the flocks, as no place in the peninsula could have been better adapted for that purpose. They extended their land at the expense of the Choorassma and Purmar Raj-

† It is remarked, that for many centuries, or probably almost from the time of the establishment of the true faith, the population of the western countries has had a tendency to frequent migration in an eastern and southern direction.

poots and the Babria Coolies, and were only checked by the entrance of the Jharejahs. The material difference between the settlement of the latter and the Kattees, consists in the land of the former being more equally divided; and this has arisen probably from an absence of any distinctionary rank, such as the teelaat of the Rajpoots.

It may naturally be concluded that the circumstances which led to the establishment of these people were adverse to the improvement either of the civil government or society of the country. It had hitherto enjoyed a tolerable degree of repose under two or three extensive authorities, but was now invaded by many thousands of a barbarous and warlike race of people, who whilst they held in contempt the industrious class of inhabitants, and disdained to lay their hand on the plough, acknowledged no law but the sword, and no employment so honourable as a life of plunder. Every village was placed in possession of absolute power, which led to constant broils and disputes, and we consequently find this miserable country exposed to all the evils of internal warfare in the feuds of the chiefs; those between chief and byaud, or the quarrels of the numerous brotherhood themselves.†

When a *bhy*, or brother, found himself aggrieved by his chief, unable to oppose him openly, or to injure the towns, which were in general surrounded by walls, he drew others to his cause, and became what is styled *bharwuttia*,‡ which signifies an outlaw, either voluntarily or otherwise. *When

* 272. a Rajpoot or Kattee determines to become *bharwuttia*, he gives notice to his villagers, who instantly remove their families and property, and place them under the protection of some neighbouring chieftain, or in a tract of country wild and intricate. He next reduces his village to ashes, and commits some sudden and daring outrage on the land of his chief. In such case the country is soon alarmed; every village

† I have known fifteen different authorities within twenty miles, and all at variance with each other.

‡ From "*bhar*," out, and "*wut*," a country.

has its look-out post, and the instant that horsemen are perceived, the approach of danger is announced by a large rattle on the highest trees, which brings the labourers from the field; and the cattle, as if aware of the danger, are seen returning from the pasture at full speed to take shelter in the village, the inhabitants of which are quickly armed and at their stations.

The circumstances attending the driving of cattle in the north-west parts of Jhallawar are particularly deserving of notice. When the alarm is sounded from the village, the cattle surround the herd and accompany him as fast as he can run; they are guided by his voice, and until deprived of their keeper, the plunderers seldom or never succeed in driving them off. The robbers, who are Hindoos, dare not shoot for fear of killing one of the cows; and his person being surrounded by the cattle, they are frequently unable to reach the herd with their spears; if they succeed, however, in killing or seizing the cowherd, the animals appear to be quite lost, and I have seen a few horsemen drive away a herd of one hundred head of cattle at full speed, and urging them with their spears, as we may suppose our border prickers did in former days. The danger to which the cattle are exposed, would almost appear to have made them sensible of the necessity of obedience to their keeper; and I have seen a herd of thirsty cows and bullocks rushing down to the water of a tank suddenly halted, and wheeled off without tasting the water, merely by the voice of a single man: and it may be remarked, that not one of these animals probably had ever been tied, or tamed in any way.

But to return to the Bharwuttia. If he fails in getting the flocks, he seizes the persons of such villagers as he can find, and carries them off; these are styled *bhan* or captives, for whose release sums of money are demanded. In short, the life of a Bharwuttia is one of blood and rapine * until he is killed, or by the fury of his feud he compels his chief to * 273 grant him redress; and the security of *charons*† and

† *Charon*, a religious race of men; to be afterwards described.

bhats† having been given on both sides, the outlaw and his family return to their homes and occupations in perfect security.

The Kattees have in general been more united than the Rajpoots, and in most cases assist each other against the latter, and carry on their feuds in a spirit of desperation approaching to barbarism. As an instance of this, the dispute between the Blownuggur raja and the Kattees of the Khooman family may be adduced‡; it lasted for a period of twenty years, during the whole of which time four or five hundred villages were lying waste, nor would the Kattees admit of the cultivation of a single beega of their own land or that of Blownuggur within their reach, terrifying by the most cruel punishment and horrid threats those who attempted it. They themselves retired to the strong country of Babriawar, whence they committed their devastations without danger.

These quarrels between chiefs are termed *wyree* or *were*,§ and involve the family and adherents of both parties. A *wyre* between a Rajpoot and a Kattee, or between two of the former, is settled by a general meeting of the opponents, when an agreement is made, and the ceremony finally closed by the *kusoomba* cup; but a dispute between two Kattees is not so easily adjusted, particularly if any member of the chief's family has been slain. In this case, the person who has killed the Kattee proceeds to the house of the deceased, and, after submitting himself to their mercy, makes an offer of his daughter in marriage, a favourite mare, cows, or anything as an earnest of his sorrow. It is disgraceful for the other party to reject his humble offers of accommodation, and an instance of their taking advantage of their power over his person probably never occurred; but until these advances have
 * 274 been made, or revenge taken on the * person of some of their opponent's family, a Kattee will not speak to

† *Bhat*, a bard.

‡ It ended about eleven years ago.

§ This word appears to signify "opposition," or something very near it. When a Kattee or Rajpoot means to express that he has a *wyre* with any one, he crosses his two forefingers in a manner which conveys the meaning to a stranger.

another who has slain his relation. I have even seen them refuse to sit in the same tent ; and when their presence was insisted on, they complained of their honour and dignity having been hurt.

The province of Kattiwar has always been considered a tributary of Guzerat, although the realization of the revenue has been uncertain at different times. During the time of the independent sovereigns of Guzerat it was partially reduced, and the Mahomedan authority established in Joonaghur ; but on the ruin of that dynasty Kattiwar resumed its independence, which the house of Tymour in all its power was never able to subvert ; and the great civil minister Raja Todurmul, with the resources of Akbar's government at his command, extended his system of rule as far as Dundooka, beyond which he is compelled to acknowledge in his letters that it is a country to which the advantages of a fixed government cannot be applied, and that its tribute must be realized solely by the sword. During the constant troubles in which Guzerat was involved consequent to the fall of the house of Tymour, and the annual invasions of the Mahrattas, a hasty and occasional *moolukgeeree†* was not sufficient to keep the turbulent spirits of Kattiwar in order. The Paishwa's and Guicawar forces, which on these occasions sometimes amounted to twenty thousand Mahratta horse, were opposed by every chieftain, and even petty villages shut their gates, and fired at the troops as they passed.‡

If they ventured to advance into the interior, they were compelled to use force to every village, and expended probably ten thousand rupees for the realization of one thousand. This army was surrounded by bodies of Kattee and Rajpoot cavalry, who cut off their supplies ; and the expedition generally ended in a hasty retreat to Jhallawar, the chieftains of which being nearer to Guzerat were often made to pay for the losses

† A term used by the Mahrattas to express a military expedition.

‡ The chieftains of Kattiwar still maintain this custom as a remnant of their independence, and it was respected until late years by the superior authorities of the country. Their troops never approached a fortified place unless to attack it.

sustained on the expedition. The Kattees and some of the more enterprising Rajpoots allowed to each other rich and fertile tracts of land in Guzerat, which they tauntingly styled *jaghires* or manors, and from which they levied contributions at pleasure. A Kattee could collect in a short period of three days seven or eight hundred cavalry of his own caste, capable of undertaking the most hazardous and fatiguing expeditions; and their attachment to a roving life and habits of plunder was such, that no danger, however great, could overcome what might be considered as inherent in their disposition. The superiority of the breed of horses in the peninsula gave those robbers a wonderful advantage over their neighbours in Guzerat; they carried their depredations to the walls of Ahmadabad and other garrisoned towns, in the gates of which they have been known to drive their spears as a signal of defiance. The length of time required by a horseman of Hindostan to prepare, and their ridiculous attachment to the forms of Nukara and Nishan, generally afforded abundance of time for the light-equipped Kattee to make his retreat; and if overtaken, their acknowledged bravery, which when attacked borders on desperation, often deterred the pursuers from effecting anything of consequence, and the death of a single Kattee was looked upon as an instance of surprising success.

When such a semi-barbarous mode of life characterized the lords of the land, it may be concluded that the residue of the population lived in a state of degradation and insecurity that would effectually annihilate all exertions of industry; and although this effect was doubtless in some degree produced, still circumstances existed tending considerably to obviate this evil. The Rajpoot, and in particular the Kattee, until late years looked upon agriculture as a degrading employment, and as a drudgery adapted to the habits of the Koombie and Ahar or other labouring classes, whilst they reserved for themselves the duty of defending the village and its inhabitants. Their plundering excursions afforded but a precarious subsistence, and could not be pursued throughout the whole year; so that although they held the cultivation of land in disrepute, they

were nevertheless compelled to afford their protection to those upon whom that duty fell. The ryots, aware of their own importance, had the option of withdrawing themselves from the village; and thus there existed a mutual * obligation between the chief and the labourer, the result of which * 276 was a source of revenue to one and security to the other.

This single tie, together with the customary *zamins* or securities (of which I shall speak hereafter), appear to have been the only links by which a chain of society in any way civilized was held together, until within these last eight or ten years, when the Guicawar authority began to assume an appearance of importance, which has since been matured, and secured to this peninsula a state of comparative peace and tranquillity.

That spirit of independence and hatred to a foreign yoke which had supported those warlike tribes in an unequal struggle for so many years, was gradually subdued by the constant pressure of a powerful force for seven successive years; and, satisfied with retaining the supremacy of their *grass* and villages, the Bhoomias † of Kattiwar at present pay their annual tribute without resistance, and are now kept in awe by a force which twelve years ago would not have ventured to forage four miles from the grand army. This change in the disposition of a people has of course been effected by the sacrifice of their martial and enterprising spirit. Instances are still however seen, particularly among the Kattees, when their inherent principle has burst forth; but the spark has been momentary, and only served to show the change which even a partial or ideal loss of liberty can create in the disposition of mankind.

The character of the Rajpoot of Kattiwar is composed of the extremes of praiseworthy and objectionable qualities. He is naturally of a mild disposition, fearful of attacking, and brave when attacked; with a more than ordinary degree of cunning and dissimulation, he is hospitable to strangers, and will defend them at the expense of his life and property. Indolent and

† From "*bloom*," the earth. It is indiscriminately applied to a guide or a *grassia*.

effeminate to an extreme degree, he will in cases of emergency, or when his own interest is involved, be roused to an incredible exertion of energy and activity:—as an enemy he is often cruel. Impatient of an insult or injury, though seldom or ever offering one, he is upon the whole an inoffensive character: but what may perhaps be considered the most admirable ingredient in the composition of his mind, is a certain pride * of family
 * 277 which raises him above the level of his neighbours, and which, united with a passionate love of liberty and attachment to each other, forms a character which, if it does not call for admiration from its virtues, is probably entitled to it on the score of novelty; in the centre of a people ready to submit without a struggle to the yoke prepared by any powerful foreigner, from which the Rajpoot has almost always been saved by these peculiar qualities.

In stature he may be considered to exceed the natives of the Deccan, being generally tall, but not of a robust frame. The complexion of the respectable Rajpoot is generally fair, contour of the face long, nose aquiline, and eyes large, but devoid of animation: the general expression of the face is pleasing. The mustachios are never permitted to grow beyond a moderate length, and the lower beard is confined to whiskers covering the cheek, and which are cherished to a great length, descending in two spiral locks, by constant twirling, below the breast, and terminating in fine points. When age whitens the hair, they discolour it with drugs that give it a disagreeable appearance. Their dress differs from that of most Indians: it consists of a fine white *angerka* or jacket, a pair of very wide trowsers of the same cloth with a tight button at the ancle. Round their loins they gird a broad *commerband* of dark brown cloth, which covers the buttocks and thighs, and above this is tied a white *doputta*. The turban is generally of a fine texture, tied on the head in loose twists to an inconvenient height, sometimes two feet, and inclining a little forwards, and forms probably the handsomest head-dress to be met with anywhere.

The Kattee differs in some respects from the Rajpoot; he is more cruel in his disposition, but far exceeds him in the virtue

of bravery, and a character possessed of more energy than a Kattee does not exist. His size is considerably larger than common, often exceeding six feet; he is sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes. His frame is athletic and bony, and particularly well adapted to his mode of life: his countenance is expressive, but of the worst kind, being harsh

and * often destitute of a single mild feature. Their * 278 dress is not unlike that of the Rajpoot, their turbans

high and sleeves long in proportion to their rank; some of the latter have been known to be three times the length of the body, and crimped and folded along the arm. The shoe of the Kattiwar, as it is confined to their particular district in the province, is perhaps to be seen nowhere else in the world. It is generally made of leather extremely soft, and being stuffed with cotton is pleasant to the foot; the outer leather is strong, and stamped in flowers or other little ornaments, and the point turns up perpendicularly (in men of rank) sometimes as high as the lower part of the knee, quite stiff, and terminating in points of loose leather cut to resemble a bird's beak. That they are inconvenient may be seen from the labouring people generally cutting off the point, and it is difficult to say how they became in use among a people who are remarkable for despising superfluities.†

The arms are the same throughout the peninsula, and consist of a sword, shield, and spear, the latter about eight feet long, made so slender as to break when thrown at the enemy, to whom it thus becomes useless. Firearms have been introduced by mercenaries, but they are seldom seen in the hands of a Kattee, to whom even a shield is a piece of armour of a very recent date. They are all horsemen, and are wonderfully particular in the breed of that animal. Mares are universally preferred, being considered more tractable, and capable of enduring more fatigue than the horse. A Kattee seldom keeps a foal after it has attained its third year; about that age he

† It may have been intended as an insult to the Moghuls, by a ridiculous imitation of their shoes; and this idea is strengthened by the hatred of the Kattee to an invader, and the cheap price at which he held them.

sells him; or, if he is of a high caste and good figure, he makes him a present to the *charons* (who are all horse-dealers) after he has covered a few mares. A Kattoo's mare is one of his family; she lives under the same roof, by which means she is familiarized and is obedient to his voice in all situations. The horses in the peninsula are never shod, but they travel at speed over the most stony countries without laming. A * 279 Kattee* says that he never should consider himself safe on a shod horse; if a shoe were to fall he would be taken, as a beast once accustomed to shoes cannot travel without them.

The Rajpoot takes some pride in his horse-furniture; but a Kattee throws a *numda†* on his mare; and having fastened a saddle-frame not unlike the European, by a single girth, and covered it with a cloth pair of saddlebags, and fastened his *chagle* or water *mussack* to the saddle-bow, he is ready for the field. His bridle is a jagged bit, with headstall and reins of cord made by his own hands; the headstall is ornamented with triangular pieces of silver, and the reins with rings of ivory or bone. His stirrups are as long as those of an European; and, unlike other Indians, he rides without a martingale, and teaches his mare merely her natural paces. A Kattee is seldom seen but walking or galloping his beast; he is so averse to walk on foot, that he rides to the field where he means to labour, and is prepared either to join a plundering party or resist attack.

Both Rajpoot and Kattee eat the flesh of goats, sheep, and wild hogs, but they are more partial to a diet of milk and *bajeree* (bread baked with ghee into thick loaves). The Jharejah chieftains have almost universally Seedeo cooks, who are slaves in the family, and I have seen them object to food that had not had the ceremony of *nyet* performed. A Kattee will not eat what is cooked by a Mahomedan, but he does not scruple to eat what has been touched by one.

The Bhoomas of Kattiwar still preserve a great portion of that spirit of hospitality for which their ancestors were so celebrated; and some of the chieftains, although often under pecuniary

† A thick cloth made of sheep's wool beat together with soap-suds, &c.

embarrassments, daily supply five hundred souls from their board, a number which has its rise in the ruinous custom of separate establishments to each wife.

All the inhabitants of this province are much addicted to opium and spirituous liquors; they have their stated periods for taking the former, which they do in different quantities. The dose is by some called *umul*, which I fancy signifies "time," or "dose time." I have seen a man whose dose was thirty-three grains of opium twice a day, and I fancy that such * a quantity is not very uncommon. Independently of this, * 280 however, they have *kusoomba*, which is drunk at all agree-ments, and is meant to express an oblivion of all injuries or enmities. The saddle-bags of a Kattee or Rajpoot are always furnished with opium and a wooden pestle and mortar, the latter resembling a boat, about eight or nine inches long. When two friends meet on a journey, the first proposal is "*Kusoomba karshoo?*" or "Shall we have some kusoomba?" An ounce (or more, according to the number of people) of opium is dissolved in water by means of the pestle and mortar, and strained through a piece of cloth, after which each of the party by turns takes some of the decoction into his hand, which he forms like a cup, and holds to his neighbour to drink; this person puts his finger into the liquor three times, each time putting a drop on the man's wrist or hand, and letting a drop fall on the ground, during which ceremony, if a Charon he invokes his favourite goddess, or if a Rajpoot he repeats the word *rung*, which means health, gladness, and everything that is good and comfortable; he then drinks up the kusoomba in his hand, and it goes round to the others. It is remarkable that they require a great deal of pressing and solicitation to drink the kusoomba, during the course of which they swear they are not in the habit of drinking it, and that it does not agree with them, but as it ends always in the same way, I suspect it is a form they have, and which they call *munwar* or importunity.

A custom prevails throughout the country of erecting a stone to the memory of those who have died a violent death, but it appears now to be common also to those who have departed in the

course of nature. This stone is called a *pallia*; it resembles an European gravestone, has the name, date, and mode of death engraven, and surmounted by a roughly executed figure representing the manner in which the deceased fell. Thus you see them on horseback with swords and spears; also on foot, or on carts, with the same weapon. I have even seen them on vessels, of course applicable to fishermen; in the upper parts of the *pallia* are the sun and moon rudely represented. There are several ways of interpreting the word *pallia*, one of which derives it from *pall*, a rampart or embankment, and * the *pallias* are the rampart of the village, as may be conjectured from the conquest of a village being calcu- * 281
lated easy or difficult by the number of *pallias*: those whose ancestors have fallen in defence of their houses are disgraced if not foremost in all occasions of danger. *Pall* is also the name of the embankments of a tank, upon which *pallias* are in general erected. These monuments are also raised to the memory of Sutties, and have a woman's arm engraven upon them.

The practice of *traga*, or inflicting self-wounds, suicide, or the murder of relations, deserves to be noticed, as it forms a strong feature of the manners of the people. This practice, which is common in Kattiwar to Bhats and Charons of both sexes, and to Bramins and Gossingas, has its rise in religious superstition, and probably cannot be better explained than in the following instance, which is perfectly true; and although *tragas* seldom wear this formidable aspect, still they are sometimes more criminal by the sacrifice of a greater number of victims.

In the year 1806, a bhat of Voweingaum named Kunn had become security on the part of Dossajee, the present chieftain of Mallia, in the Muchoo Kaunta, for a sum of money payable to the Guicawar government: the time specified for payment arrived, and Dossajee refused to fulfil his engagement. Government applied to the *zamin* or *munotidar*, who after several fruitless attempts to persuade Dossajee to comply with his bond, returned to his house; and after passing some time in prayer, as-

sembled his family, and desired his wife to prepare a daughter about seven years of age for *traga*.† The innocent child, taught from her earliest infancy to reflect on the sacred character and divine origin of her family, and the necessity which existed for the sacrifice, required no compulsion to follow the path by which the honour of her caste was to be preserved. Having bathed and dressed herself in her best clothes, she knelt with her head upon her father's knee, and holding aside her long hair, she resigned herself without a struggle to the sword of this unnatural barbarian. The blood of a *bhat* being sprinkled on the gate of the chieftain,* produced an instantaneous payment of the money; presents of * 282 land to the father, and a handsome mausoleum or *doree* to the daughter, marked the desire of the Rajpoot to avert the punishment supposed to await the spiller of a *Charon's* blood.

In the neighbourhood of Amrun, in Hallar, I have seen a pallia erected by a son to the memory of his mother, whom he murdered at the gate of Amrun in 1806, to deter the chieftain of that place from cultivating a few bigahs of land, which by right belonged to the former. He was a Rajghur Bramin named Dewa, and resided in the village of Firsur, in the same neighbourhood, in 1809. The stone stands on the disputed ground, and represents an old woman with a sword through her neck. *Traga*, as generally performed, extends no further than a cut with the *kutar* or crease in the arm; and those people who are in the habit of becoming security, generally have several such cuts from the elbow downwards.

Notwithstanding the horror which this savage custom naturally excites in the mind of an European, it is probably necessary, and attended with many advantages, among the society by which it has been adopted. Here were no laws by which the licentious conduct of the people could be curbed; but as it was impossible that a society could exist without some check to the warlike and barbarous dispositions of its members, it is not unnatural that superstition and religious deceit should in an age of ignorance

† Colonel Walker relates that he sat up a whole night with another *Bhat* in consultation before this was determined on.

be employed for this purpose; and we accordingly find the sacred character of Bramin and Charon sufficient to repress the turbulent spirits of men unaccustomed to the restraint imposed by civilized society, or a regular system of jurisprudence.

No deed or agreement is considered equal to bind the faithless robber, unless guaranteed by the mark of the kutar, thus, the insignia of the Charon or Bhat; and no traveller could, until lately, venture to journey unattended by one of



those people as a safeguard, who was satisfied for a small sum to conduct him in safety, or sacrifice his life. These guards are called Wollawas, and hesitate not to inflict the most grievous wounds, and ultimately death, if the robbers persist in plundering those under their protection; * but this * 283 is seldom the case, as the most barbarous Coolies, Katties, or Rajpoots hold sacred the persons of Charons, Bramins, or Gosains of certain *muths*.

The Charons, besides becoming security for money on all occasions, and to the amount of many lakhs of rupees, also become what is called *feil zamin*, or security for good behaviour, and *hazir zamin*, or security for the appearance. These securities are taken by Government from the chiefs, in addition to *arr zamin* or counter-security, who is generally a chief, or one possessed of some power and consequence. Independently of these duties, the Bhats† are the bards of the Rajpoot and Kattee, they keep the genealogical table or *vumshawallee* of the family, and repeat their praises; this duty is hereditary, for which they have gifts of land and other privileges.

The Bhats are more immediately connected with the Rajpoots, and the Charons with the Katties. The two castes will eat of each other's food, but will not intermarry; of the latter there are two classes, the one called Nesac, who live in hordes with their cattle, and the other called Goojer, who reside in

† Called by the Mahomedans "*bandjersah*," or liars.

towns, and engage in worldly speculations of all kinds. The widows of both are permitted to marry, but among the Nesacs they may marry a brother's widow, as among the Kattees and Ahurs; the Goojer Charons do not practise this, nor do the Bhats, although their widows remarry.

The dress of the women in this peninsula resembles, in most respects that of Guzerat, and is, compared to that of the Deccan, extremely unbecoming. It consists of a *gagra* or petticoat, with a *cholve* for the bosom, descending from the neck to the belly, and perfectly open on the back, where it is fastened by two strings. This piece of dress has the effect of depressing those parts of the body which the female world are generally so anxious to support: to the *gagra* is fastened a cloth, which goes round the body and over the head, concealing the person from view. Their ornaments are coarse and inelegant; bracelets up to the shoulder,* of ivory or conch-shell, sometimes gilt; silver earrings of an uncommon size; and an old-fashioned * 284 *nuth* or nose-ring, stuck full of precious or false stones, of a weight which gives the nostril a lovely inclination to the lip. The women of the peninsula are somewhat peculiar in their fondness for tattooing; it is considered as a substitute for more valuable ornaments. They imitate elegant and fanciful ornaments upon the ankles extending high up the leg, precisely shaped like the clock of a stocking. Their arms and the back of their hands undergo the same ceremony, nor are the breasts and buttocks of some exempt from this discipline. A star on the forehead and a tattooed dimple in the chin are considered as possessing irresistible attractions.

The women of the Charons and Bhats are clothed in long flowing black garments of the same form as above described, but have a sombre if not actually horrid appearance; they do not wear many ornaments, and are not restricted from appearing in the presence of strangers; accordingly in passing a Charon village you are sometimes surrounded by women, who invoke blessings on your head by joining the backs of their hands, cracking the knuckles of their fingers in that position over their heads.

The Rajpoot women of high rank are often of an intriguing disposition, and always meddle in the affairs of their husbands. Every raja has several wives, each of whom has a separate establishment of friends, relations, servants, lands, and everything else. Each is jealous of the influence of the others over their lord, who by the time he is forty years old is generally a victim of opium, tobacco, or spirituous liquors, and other exciting drugs. If one of the wives has offspring, the others practise deceit upon the family, and every woman of spirit has a son; dissension and discord prevail, and it has become almost as rare an event for a raja to leave this world in peace and quiet, as it is for a Rajpoot gadee to be filled by a person the purity of whose birth is perfectly ascertained. This melancholy picture of the morals of Rajpoot ladies is confined solely to the higher class; and the female sex in Kattiwar, generally speaking, are modest, chaste, and faithful to their lords, and kind and hospitable to * strangers: as a proof of the former, there are few or

* 285 no women of easy virtue in the villages, and those in the large towns are frequently natives of other countries.

The Kattee women are large and masculine in their figures, often dressed in long dark garments like the Charon women, but have the character of being always well-looking, and often remarkably handsome; they are more domesticated than the Rajpoot, and confine themselves solely to the duties of their family. Polygamy is admitted: a Kattee will marry his brother's widow; he has no objection to marry a girl far advanced in years according to Asiatic ideas. They are often brides at seventeen and sixteen years of age, which may probably account for the strength and vigour of the race. A Kattee will do nothing of any consequence without consulting his wife and a Charon, and he is in general guided by their advice. The marriage ceremony of this irregular tribe deserves notice, as being totally opposite to all Indian notions of female treatment, although there is a trace of the same to be found in almost all Indian castes. A Kattee to become a husband must be a ravisher; he must attack with his friends and followers the village where his betrothed resides, and carry

her off by force. In ancient times this was no less a trial of strength than of courage ; stones and clubs were used without reserve both to force and repel ; and the disappointed lover was not unfrequently compelled to retire covered with bruises, and wait for a more favourable occasion. The bride had the liberty of assisting her lover by all the means in her power, and the opposition ceased when her dwelling was once gained by the assailants, and the lady then bravely won submitted willingly to be carried off by her champion. At present this custom has lost much of its character ; and although the ceremony is partially kept up, the resistance is unattended with danger.† The Kattees do not intermarry with any other caste, although there is an instance to the contrary in the Rana of Bate, who is a Wadhil Rajpoot, into whose family a Kattee of the Walla or Warra caste has given * his daughter.

The Kattee is a Hindoo, although no Hindoo will eat * 286 with him : a Rajpoot will, however, eat food dressed by a Kattee. He worships the cow, leaves a lock of hair on his head, and adores Mahadeo and other Hindoo deities, although he is more attached to the worship of the *sooruj* or sun, and to Ambha and other terrible goddesses, and entertains a more profound veneration for a Charon than he does for a Bramin.

The practice of female infanticide, peculiar in this peninsula to the Jharejah Rajpoots, is too well known, and has been too often described, to require particular notice in this place. It may therefore suffice to say, that the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker and the British Government to abolish so unnatural a custom, have hitherto been attended with as much success as could reasonably be expected ; when we contemplate the obstacles opposed to an infringement on long established and religious usage ; and whilst we revere the principle which led to the attempt of the conquest of superstition and deeply rooted

† There are a variety of Kattee castes ; such as Cagura, Munjeria, and Busia Kattees ; also Dhandel Kattees, who are the offspring of a Rajpoot and Kattee woman, and into which caste all the others marry.

prejudice, it is impossible at the same time not to admire the active energy by which the difficulties were combated ; and the success which has attended Lieutenant-Colonel Walker's honourable labour, ought to be considered as a lasting and powerful evidence of what may be effected on the minds of the natives by pursuing an uniform and firm, but a patient, kind, and benevolent line of conduct. The system as laid down on this subject by its most excellent and respectable institutor, has been tenaciously adhered to by the Guicawar government, whose zeal in the cause of humanity is very creditable, and under its present Superintendent there is every reason to look forward in a short period for the entire suppression of a practice, the instances of which for these last three years have been, comparatively speaking, very few, which is discountenanced by the chieftains, almost all of whom have preserved their own daughters.

I have said nothing regarding the Jhalla, Goil, and Jaitwa Rajpoots, as they differ in no material point from the Jharejahs, if we except their not practising infanticide.

The Kauts are precisely the Coolies of Guzerat, and are * 287 confined to the *neighbourhood of Joonaghur ; they cultivate remote and wild spots, and plunder indiscriminately when opportunity offers. The Bawurs are Scindian Mussulmans, and are found all over the south and west part of the peninsula ; they are few in number, and serve as guards to the villages. It is uncertain at what time they left Scind.

The Mares or Meres are only to be met with in Jaitwar ; they are originally from Scind, and have the reputation of great bravery ; they form a very useful branch of population in Jaitwar.

The Ahurs and Rebarres are looked upon as a kind of Kattée ; they differ in their manners a little, but their customs are the same, they eat together and occasionally intermarry. The Ahurs were formerly herds, but they are now a very valuable class of cultivators all over the peninsula : the Rebarres or Burwars are goat-herds. There are, besides, an infinite number of subordinate divisions of castes, which it would be tiresome

to notice ; but it is remarkable that they are all to be traced to the river Indus and that vicinage.

I shall conclude this paper with a few remarks upon the land tenures, &c.

The land is the property of the chief and his byaud ; the former derived no revenue from the latter's land until the chieftains became tributary, when the latter imposed a tax called *vera* upon their byaud ; it is a sum of money from fifty to two hundred *correes*, or sixteen to seventy rupees, levied upon every *santee*, which is the name given to the work of a pair of bullocks and a plough. Besides the *vera*, one-third of the produce levied in kind is the property of the chieftain on his own lands, and of the byaud on theirs ; this is called *bong*, and is the original right of the zemindar of Kattiwar from the cultivator of his land.

There are several ways of measuring land ; but a general one is by the *praija*, which is thirty-two beegahs, each of which is one hundred *kudum* or two hundred paces long, and five *kudum* or ten paces broad. Three *praijas* are equal to a *santee*, or the work of a pair of bullocks.

Grain is in general very cheap in this country. In 1797-8 jowaree sold in the Muchoo Kaunta at six rupees per culsee of twenty-four maunds, each maund equal to fifty-five Guzerat seers of twenty-four rupees' weight, * or 1,320 seers per six rupees, equal to two hundred and twenty seers * 288 per rupee. Bajaree at the same period sold for ten rupees per culsee, or one hundred and thirty-two seers per rupee ; and was cheaper in Hallar and Kattiwar, where it is more generally cultivated. The year quoted was very favourable ; but it will serve to show the fertility of the soil, when the cultivator can afford to sell his grain at such a rate under any circumstances.

When a dispute occurs about a piece of land, it is decided by the form of pacing it. The man who lays his claim to it covers himself with a raw hide and walks over the ground, after which it becomes his own ; this ceremony is done in the presence of some authority. It is considered as one of the

most awful, and the person who undergoes it is supposed never to survive it long if he is false. Abundance of instances are advanced of houses burnt, families dying and going to ruin, from having walked over land without a claim. The hide is what makes it so very awful, and it is thence called *alloo*. For a hide they often substitute a piece of cloth which has been previously offered to one of the terrible goddesses, and wetting it with water, throw it over the shoulders.

Rupees are current all over the province; but in Jaitwar the general coin is the *coree*, coined by the Rauna of Porebunder, called *ranna shai*; in Hallar and Muchoo Kaunta the *jam shai*, or Jam's *coree*, is current, and in the neighbouring countries the *rao shai*, or Bhooj *coree*, is prevalent. The *ranna shai* is the best coin of the three, but the general value is three per rupee.

[NOTE.—A large amount of information on Kattywar and its people and customs and institutions is contained in the Selections from Bombay Government Records No. XXXIX., New Series, Part I., Colonel A. Walker's Reports on the Province of Kattywar, &c., and Part II. Proceedings adopted by the late Col. Alexander Walker, Mr. J. P. Willoughby, and other officers, for the suppression of Infanticide in Kattywar, both published in 1856; and Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XXXVII., New Series; Historical, Geographical, and Statistical Memoirs on the Province of Kattywar, and on the Districts of Babriawar and Okha Mundul; also a Report on the Iron of Kattywar, by Capt. (now Major-General Sir) G. LeGrand Jacob, 1856. The *Rás Málá*, by A. K. Forbes, Bom. C.S., 2 vols., gives some interesting information about the Káthís and other Rajput tribes in the different parts of the Peninsula. I would also refer to Lieut. Postans' paper on Gírnár, vol. VII., Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, p. 219, and to notices of Somnath at p. 883 of the same volume, and p. 73 of vol. XII. of the same series. All the papers on the Kshatrap, Valabhí, and Gupta Coins and Inscriptions, by Dr. Bhau Dájí, Mr. Justice Newton, and other writers, may also be referred to. The following notices occur in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society:—vol. VII., p. 1, Report by Capt. (now Major-General Sir) G. LeGrand Jacob; vol. XIII., p. 11, Notes of a Journey through part of Kattywar in 1855 by George Buist; vol. XVI., p. 16, Upheavals on the coasts of Kattywar and Sindh.—Ed.]

ACCOUNT OF THE CORNELIAN MINES IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BAROACH,

IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY FROM JOHN COPLAND, ESQ.,
OF THE BOMBAY MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Read 28th March 1815.

TO WILLIAM ERSKINE, ESQ., Secretary to the Literary Society.

SIR,

HAVING arrived at Baroach with the European part of the expedition, on our route from Bombay to Baroda, to be placed under the command of Colonel Holmes, I took advantage of the few days the troops remained there, to visit the famous tree denominated *Kubeer bur*, and the cornelian mines in the territories of the Raja of Rajpipla. I regret that my time was too limited to enable me to give such an account of these objects as I could wish; but as the latter, as far as my observation goes, has never been publicly noticed, I am induced to hazard this, and shall be gratified if you think my mite worthy to be added to the stock of Eastern knowledge already collected by the Bombay Literary Society.

Accompanied by one or two others actuated by the same curiosity, I left Baroach (the *Bargasa* of the ancients, *Bhreegoo Khsheto* of the Hindoos) on the 3rd of December 1814, about five o'clock p.m., and committed myself to the celebrated and sacred stream *Rewa*, commonly called *Nurbuda*, at the turn of the tide: but from the great quantity of water discharged by this mighty river, we had soon to pull against the stream. About midnight we arrived at the island of *Kubeer Bur*, twelve miles N.E. of Baroach. The moon, while it enabled us to form a tolerably accurate idea of the tree, left darkness enough in its shades greatly to *increase the solemn grandeur of the scene. The lofty arches and colonnades, the im- * 290
mense festoons of roots, the extent of ground it covered,

and its enormous trunks, proclaimed its great antiquity, and struck me with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral; while the fresh green of its thick foliage showed it still in the vigour of life: I should guess it to cover from three to four acres. Its branches rise so high, that many miles off it is a conspicuous object, bearing a resemblance to a hill on the extremity of the island. The tree is washed on its eastern base by the river, having to the west and south a ridge of sand, which is covered by the spring tides, and on the north the island extends for three miles, exhibiting a plain most fruitful in whatever requires a light sandy soil. The river here, altering its course from north and south, runs east and west. At the time of the high swells at the latter end of the rains the island is overflowed, and the few inhabitants, like so many of the monkey tribe (with whom they mingle), are compelled to take refuge in the lofty branches of the tree, and remain there for several days until the water subsides, the current being too rapid for a boat to render them relief. The popular tradition among the Hindoos concerning the tree is, that a man of great sanctity named Kubeer, having cleaned his teeth, as practised in India, with a piece of stick, struck it into the ground, that it took root and became what it now is. He was afterwards canonized, and his image we saw sitting in a temple near one of the oldest-looking trunks (his metamorphosed tooth-brush). To this temple, people from far and near come to pay their devotions: the ceremonies are performed by the religious mendicants called *Byragees* under the superintendence of a head man, who is stationary; the rest (with the exception of the pupils who beg in the neighbouring main-land) being wanderers from all parts of India. We intended to pass the night under the protection of this saint; but our cots not having come up, we were obliged to return to the barge, and sleep in boat-cloaks instead of a temple. At daybreak we landed opposite the village of Neemoodra, which is three miles distant from the river, and south of Kubeer Bur, where we found our horses waiting: the mines lie about twelve miles to the eastward of this village. About five miles

*beyond Neemoodra we came to a rivulet named Kawee-ree, and although of no importance during the dry sea- * 291 son, it becomes a most formidable river in the rains. Its bed consists chiefly of quartz and agate pebbles; among the latter were many varieties: the most uncommon I remarked were of a dark blue colour with white veins. A striated rock varying from fifty to a hundred feet in height overhangs the river on the western side for several miles. I regret much not having had time to examine it particularly: its dip toward the south-east might have been 45° . On ascending from the bed of the river, we passed on our left the little village of Rutunpoor, in which resides a *thanadar* on the part of the Rajpiplee State, (whose jurisdiction is only in matters of police, and confined to the district dependent on this village), and proceeded onward by a narrow footpath through jungle, having rising ground almost the whole way to the mines. The country is but here and there cultivated, yielding crops of juwarce and other productions common in Guzerat; but, owing to the stony and unproductive nature of the soil, it vies not with the opposite side of the Nurbuda, which is cultivated like a garden, and in the far greater part of which no stones of any description are to be found. The diversity of scenery,—hills and valleys, pebbly beds of rivers, precipitous rocks, and extensive plains covered with jungle,—was sufficiently romantic. On account of the tigers with which the country abounds, no human habitations were found nearer the mines than Rutunpoor, which is seven miles off. The miners reside at Neemoodra, where alone the stones are burnt. The mines are in the wildest part of the jungle, and are very numerous; they are shafts working perpendicularly downward, about four feet wide; the deepest we saw was fifty feet: some extend in a horizontal direction at the bottom, but in consequence of the earliness of the season few had reached a depth sufficient to render this turn necessary, and in those that had, it was not carried many feet. In using the term “earliness of season” it is proper to mention, that the nature of the pits is such as to prevent their being worked a second year, on account of the heavy rains, which cause the banks to fall in, so that new ones

are opened at the commencement of every fair season. We arrived at the mines about seven o'clock * A.M., when
 * 292 none of the workmen had come except one, who accompanied us as a guide from Neemoodra. We were informed that the fire-damp (hydrogen gas) was not uncommon in the mines, and that the miners did not descend till the sun had risen sufficiently to dispel the vapours. We went to the bottom of one pit, about thirty feet deep, without any assistance from ropes or ladders, by means of small niches for the feet and hands on opposite sides of the pit, but understood that the miners always made use of a rope to hold by, of which we could not avail ourselves, as the workmen at the close of their labour carry to their homes the simple instruments of their vocation, together with the stones which the day's labour has acquired. The soil is gravelly, consisting chiefly of quartz sand reddened by iron, and a little clay. The nodules may weigh from a few ounces to two or even three pounds, and lie very close to each other; but for the most part distinct, not in strata but scattered through the mass, and in the greatest abundance. I saw none of a *red* colour at the mines; some were blackish olive, like common dark flints; others somewhat lighter; and others lighter still, with a slight milky tinge. The first, our guide informed us, would be black when burnt; the second, red; and the third, white. In this he may have been correct; but I doubt the fact as to the first, which we found in a proportion inconsistent with the well-known rarity of a *black* cornelian; I sent specimens of each to Captain Hall of the Royal Navy, whose zeal in all scientific researches, I doubt not, has settled this point. I confess myself of opinion that there can be no precise rules drawn from the appearance of the stones before, for that which they will assume after burning, because it depends partly on the degree of heat they undergo. A red cornelian by an intense heat will become white; but, as far as my observations go, no stone of the former colour is found so in the mines (excepting jaspers), although a large proportion of them assume it at Neemoodra. Many also after having been burnt show both colours, sometimes distinct and

sometimes mixed, and of a pinky hue; while the colour was uniform, or very nearly so, in all which I remarked at the mines. The lightest-coloured stones come out of the fire of a much more delicate and transparent white than before, and often surrounded by * a cortex of red, but without any distinct line separating the colours. We were un- * 293 fortunate in the time of visiting Neemoodra, for all the good stones had been removed, and only a few heaps of refuse left. I saw none imbedded in rock, as flints are in chalk; some nodules on being broken showed a mixture of quartz and agate, and others, in a crust of quartz minutely crystallized on the inner surface, contained a black oxide of iron of a powdery appearance, many pieces of which we found by itself in the gravel. *Hæmatites*, chiefly of the brown and green (with red spots) varieties, *mocha stones*, and *jaspers* of various colours, are very common here; indeed the last was found in almost every part of the province we visited on our route. Each stone is chipped in the mine to discover its quality, and those which are approved separated from the refuse, heaps of which lay at the mouth of every pit which had been worked.

I shall now attempt to give an account of the mode in which the cornelians undergo the action of fire, as derived from the testimony of a respectable native attached to the Adaulut at Baroach, who was formerly in the cornelian trade, and had himself superintended the process at Neemoodra; his account is corroborated by our personal observation, and by what we learned on the spot. The stones are brought to this village every evening, spread on the ground, exposed to the sun to prepare them for the further process, and turned every fifteenth day till the time of burning, which is only once a year—one month before the commencement of the monsoon. They are then put into round earthen pots about fourteen inches in diameter, the bottoms of which having been taken out, and the pots inverted (mouth downward), the pieces taken from the bottoms are put inside, and placed over the mouths to prevent the stones falling out: in this state the pots are placed side by side in a trench of indefinite length, but of which the depth

and breadth are about two feet, having a layer of five or six inches of dry goat's-dung below, and the same above the pots. This is set on fire about eight o'clock in the evening; all the fuel is consumed before daybreak, when the pots are removed from the trench to the open air for the stones to cool, which requires about three hours; after this they are taken out of the pots, piled into heaps, and again chipped for the * same
 * 294 purpose as when taken from the mines, and are finally thrown into a pit, where they remain till called for (more to be out of the way of thieves, than as constituting any part of the operation). From Neemoodra the cornelians are carried to Cambay by the merchants who come from thence, where they are cut and formed into the beautiful and much sought after ornaments peculiar to the place.

I ought to have mentioned that the miners do not forsake a pit on meeting with a spring, but merely change the direction; the water never rising to any great height.†

The Rajpipla country has long been celebrated among the natives who live in its neighbourhood, for the variety of its earths and mineral productions; and is certainly a rich field for the mineralogist and geologist. The native above mentioned informed me, that about twenty-five years ago slight shocks of earthquakes were felt in the province, but that they were far from being frequent occurrences.

On our return from the mines to Neemoodra, we took a circuitous route which brought us to a hill of considerable height, which we ascended; and enjoyed a most extensive prospect. It appears to be composed of vitrified rock, and I think there can scarcely be a doubt entertained of its volcanic origin. On the summit stands the tomb (in good repair) of the tutelary saint of the country, Baba Ghor, to whom adoration is paid more as a deity than a saint, under whose particular protection are the cornelian mines, and to whom the miners recommend themselves before descending into the pit. A little below the tomb is a hollow (answering to the crater) containing

† This proves the high situation of the bed, and might lead to some interesting conclusions in geology.

a tank of water about a hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, well built of hewn stone, having steps on its four sides descending in the most regular manner to the bottom. Viewing these works of human art in a spot now so sequestered, at a distance from all human habitation, the country covered with jungle as far as the eye can reach, giving shelter to wild beasts ever at enmity with man, we cannot but admire the political as well as physical changes that are constantly * taking place in the world, while we learn that this desert was once the site of many flourishing towns and * 295 villages. At the shrine of this saint the people of the neighbouring countries offer up their prayers on the 12th of the Mahomedan month of Rujub; thousands then flocking to the sacred spot to perform the vows they have made. This assemblage (in common with other Mahomedan festivals) is denominated a *mela* (holy fair). To ascertain whether their vows will be accepted, the pilgrims throw twelve cocoanuts into the tank: if the saint be propitious, thirteen rise to the surface; but if otherwise, only the number thrown in. Baba Ghor was a prince of the dynasty of Ghoree, a race which furnished some of the first emperors after the invasion of Hindostan by the Mahomedans. He was sent by his father, the reigning emperor (he himself being heir to the throne), with so large an army, that his personal attendants, says the tradition, amounted to thirty thousand men, for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the infidels (Hindoos). The huge army was completely routed near these hills, and the prince with all his attendants fell. The tomb has been erected, no doubt, by the followers of Mahomed, subsequently to regaining their power in this quarter, to perpetuate the name of a martyr to the great cause.

We descended at the opposite side of the hill by a path paved with the fragments of temples despoiled by Mahomedan bigotry, to the extent of nearly a mile; proceeded onwards to Neemootra, where having made the inquiries previously related, we returned to the barge, and crossed over to Shookulteruth, where we arrived at twelve or one o'clock, break-

fasted, and returned by water to Baroach, where we landed about six p.m.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. COPLAND,

Assistant-Surgeon and Deputy Medical Storekeeper, F.F.

Camp, near Jeenore, 27th February 1815.

[NOTE.—See Forbes' Oriental Memoirs (2nd ed.), vol. I., p. 323; also the authorities collected under the title *Cambay*, p. 28, and *Cornelians*, p. 351, vol. I. of Balfour's Cyclopædia, 2nd ed., Madras, 1873. These stones are now an ordinary article of commerce.—ED.]

* XIX.

* 296

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE IN GUZERAT
IN THE YEARS 1812 AND 1813.

IN A LETTER TO WILLIAM ERSKINE, ESQ.

By Captain JAMES RIVETT CARNAC, Political Resident
at the Court of the Guicawar.

Read 25th April 1815.

Baroda, Feb. 1815.

In a very humble endeavour to meet your wishes, by a description of the calamities which have lately visited this province, I send you the few following observations. At the same time I am conscious of my own inability to perform this task with the interest and accuracy which it deserves, and indeed am firmly persuaded that no adequate representation can be made of the manifold miseries I have had the mortification to witness. When we attempt to give an idea of the effects of a famine, it must immediately occur, that such visitations of Providence do not vary materially in their progress and consequences, and that the statements which in all ages have been produced by similar calamities leave little of novelty in a general point of view: I shall therefore confide more in the relation of positive fact for the gratification of your curiosity, than in any observations which my own feelings may occasionally prompt, in the course of this letter, on the horrid scenes created by the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures.

It is interesting to mark the harbinger of those calamities which fell upon Guzerat: the superstitions of the natives attributed them to the sins of this quarter of India; while we cannot but lament that the danger, which in its origin was at the remotest extremity, should at last have fixed its influence in the western division of the peninsula. It has been often re-

*marked, that the appearance of locusts is prognostic of
* 297 other evils. Flights of these destructive insects first appeared from the eastward in the Bengal provinces about the beginning of the year 1810, and, taking their course in a northerly direction, passed through parts of the country designated by the southern people, Hindoostan; and in the revolution of fifteen months arrived at the province of Marwar, skirting the large western desert of India. In the year 1811, the annual fall of rain failed in Marwar, and when every vestige of vegetation had disappeared the locusts made way into the north-west district of Guzerat named Puttun, and from thence scoured Kattiwar; on one occasion only appearing as far south as the city of Baroach on the Nurbudda. Beyond this point the locusts were not known to extend; and by the commencement of the monsoon of 1812 this plague vanished from the face of the country.

The destruction committed by these insects in the western parts of Guzerat was deplorable. During the circuit of the subsidiary force at the latter end of 1811, extensive tracts were covered with cultivation; and, until examined, the spectator would have considered the harvest as being in a most flourishing condition. The locusts, however, had devoured the grain, and the stalks were left as unworthy of being cleared from the ground. The failure of rain in Marwar, and the ruin by the locusts of the products of the land during the preceding year, drove the inhabitants of that unfortunate country into the bosom of Guzerat, where their condition was comparatively improved; though one of the causes which compelled them to seek refuge at a distance from home, had begun to operate also in that province. Miseries seemed to follow the footsteps of the Marwarees, and to mingle their neighbours in their untoward destiny; for it was in the year 1812 that Guzerat also experienced a failure of rain, when the demands on its resources had augmented in a twofold degree. The enhanced price of grain, added to the apprehensions of the inhabitants, which impelled them to store their individual resources in times of such danger, and the villainies practised by higher

classes to derive pecuniary advantage from the pressing wants of the people, soon reduced the half-famished emigrants to the greatest privations: the * endurance of hunger was supported, however, by the Marwaree people with unac- * 298 countable pertinacity, which in some degree blunted the natural feelings of sympathy in their lot. Whether the ready assistance rendered to these people on their first entrance into Guzerat had induced them to imagine that under no circumstances the hand of charity would be withdrawn; or whether it was from the innate indolence of their character, or the infatuation which often accompanies the extremes of misfortunes, that they rejected the certain means of subsistence by labour, it is notorious that in all cases when the benevolent tendered employment to these people, it was uniformly declined, even with the certainty of death being the consequence of refusal. The diversity between the laudable energies of the Mahratta, when under the influence of similar misfortunes, and the apathy of the Marwarce, was strikingly evinced.

The mortality which ensued among the emigrants, who had sought refuge after the sufferings of a famine in their own country, covered with disease, regardless of every consideration but that prompted by the calls of hunger, almost surpasses my own belief, though an unhappy witness of such horrid events.

In the vicinity of every large town, you perceived suburbs surrounded by these creatures. Their residence was usually taken up in the main roads under the cover of trees; men, women, and children promiscuously scattered; some furnished with a scanty covering, others almost reduced to a state of nudity; while at the same moment the spectator witnessed, within the range of his own observation, the famished looks of a fellow-creature aggravated by the pains of sickness; the desponding cries of the multitude mingled with the thoughtless playfulness of children; and the unavailing struggles of the infant to draw sustenance from the exhausted breasts of its parent. To consummate this scene of human misery, a lifeless corpse was at intervals brought to notice by the bewailings of

a near relative; its immediate neighbourhood displaying the impatience and wildness excited in the fortunate few, who had obtained a pittance of grain, and were devouring it with desperate satisfaction. The hourly recurrence of miseries had familiarized the minds of these poor people, as well as of

* people in general, to every extremity which nature
 * 299 could inflict: in a short time, those emanations of individual feeling among themselves, which distinguished the first commencement of their sufferings, gradually abated, and the utmost indifference universally predominated. I shall venture to give you a few examples which came under my own eyes, and which, in spite of the painful sensations which they excite, I bring myself to describe, from the desire of elucidating the depression to which a rational being can be reduced by the wrath of an Almighty Judge.

During the progress of these miseries, I have seen a few Marwarees sitting in a cluster, denying a little water to sustain her drooping spirits to a woman stretched beside them with a dead infant reposing on her breast. In a few hours this woman had also expired, and her dead body as well as that of the child remained close by them situated as before described, without a single attempt to remove them, until the government peons had performed that office. I have seen a child, not quite dead, torn away by a pack of dogs from its mother, who was unable to speak or move, but lay with anxious eyes directed to the object of its fond affection. It was pursued by its former little playmates which had shared in its extreme adversity; but the ravenous animals (who had acquired an extraordinary degree of ferocity from having fed upon human bodies) turned upon the innocents, and displayed their mouths and teeth discoloured with the blood of the child: a rescue was attempted by ourselves, but the remains of life had been destroyed, and in struggling for its limbs the dogs had actually carried off one of its arms. I have witnessed these animals watching the famished creatures, who were verging on the point of dissolution, to feast on their bodies; and this spectacle was repeated every successive day in the environs of this

town. Lastly, to my own knowledge, those feelings and prejudices "concentring all their precious beams of sacred influence," those which life in ease and affluence would only have resigned with itself, in the extremes of distress seemed to have lost their power. Distinctions of caste were preserved until the moment when the hand of adversity bore heavy; then the *Bramin* sold his wife, his child, sister, and connexions, for the trifle of two or three rupees, to such as * would receive them. With these individual cases I shall leave you * 300 to estimate the extent of mortality; but it is in my power to state as a fact, that the numbers of Marwarees who died in a single day at Baroda could scarcely be counted, and the return of burials in twenty-four hours often exceeded five hundred bodies. What reflections are not excited by the enumeration of such dreadful evils, and what gratitude has each of the living to cherish for the mercy shown to him! It would be doing an act of injustice, however, to the natives of opulence in Guzerat to pass over their exertions to alleviate the surrounding distress: the charity of the Hindoos is proverbial; it constitutes one of the primary tenets of their morality, and is generally unaffectedly dispensed. On the occurrence of the distress and famine, large subscriptions were made, aided by a liberal sum from the native government, and the objects of the institution were obtained by proper regulations devised for that purpose. I cannot say what numbers were relieved, but the monthly expense of feeding the poor in this town amounted to some thousands of rupees. It was a cruel sight, to those possessed of sensibility, to witness the struggles when the doors were opened to apportion the victuals. Every sentiment of humanity appeared to have been absorbed by the crowds collected around; and it was no unusual thing to be informed, that such and such a number had fallen a sacrifice to their precipitate voracity: many also whose wants had been supplied, continued to devour until the means intended for their relief proved in the end their destruction in a few hours. Children were often crushed to death, when attending for their pittance of food, under the feet of their own

parents. The establishment of which I have been speaking was imitated in most of the principal towns in Guzerat, and added a few months of life to a class of beings reserved for greater miseries: indeed subsequent events would seem to show that these people were marked for total annihilation, and that in their destruction the inhabitants of this country were to be deeply involved.

I have observed in a former part of this letter, that the Marwarees had resorted to Guzerat covered by disease, the consequence of limited and unwholesome food. I will not dwell on the spectacles which were *furnished in this particular
 * 301 respect, but the object of adverting to it is to mention, that this misery was heightened by the confluent small-pox, which committed incalculable ravages: add to this, that the women, to obtain food on their entry into the country, had prostituted themselves, and contracted diseases only inferior in malignancy to the one above stated.

The carelessness of the Indian in all matters which do not affect his immediate interests or his religion is well known to us; his conduct would hardly be supposed to be governed by rational principles. Of his indifference to the dying we have had abundance of evidence; but he is yet more callous to the dead. It was this kind of apathy which appears to me to have chiefly occasioned the contagion experienced in 1812, and the consequent mortality. The bodies of the Marwarees during the famine were left unheeded on the spot where life expired, and their putridity must doubtless have affected the atmosphere. As demonstrative that some influence was created by these circumstances, I beg your attention to the numbers of deaths, which will presently be specified, at Ahmedabad, where the sickness raged with the greatest violence; observing, at the same time, that at Baroda the government had the precaution to bury the dead; while this act, so necessary for self-preservation and common decency, was not performed elsewhere in the Guicawar districts with uniform attention.

The mortality at Ahmedabad is computed at a hundred thousand souls, a number nearly equal to one half of its popu-

lation. The demand for wood to burn the Hindoos, called for the destruction of the houses; even this was barely sufficient for the performance of the rites required by the Hindoo faith; and the half-consumed bodies on the banks of the Saburmuttee evince at this hour to what straits the Hindoos were reduced in fulfilling the last duties to their kindred. A description of the fury with which the contagion raged in that unhappy city would scarcely be credible:—disease pervaded every habitation; entire families fell victims to its unsparing hand; and in many instances the dead body of one person had no sooner been disposed of, than the party returned to repeat the * same office to another. It is worthy of remark, that latterly the females were engaged in removing the dead * 302 and committing them to the pile; the urgency must have been extreme, to have induced this departure from usage in rites held in sacred estimation.

It can be no question, that a part of the mortality is attributable to the peculiar insalubrity of the climate in this province after the rainy season; but as the mortality commonly exceeded the proportions of death in former years in the rate of ten to one, to what can such excess be ascribed, but the cause I have ventured to assign? It is a curious fact, however, that, with the exception of Ahmedabad, the Mahomedan population did not suffer so severely as the Hindoos. The cause assigned among themselves I have heard to be—the nature of their diet, and the support which animal food gave to the body. I am not qualified to form a judgment on such a subject, but the reason is certainly not unworthy of attention. At the same time I am aware that the parallel case of mortality among the Europeans at Kaira can be adduced against the solidity of the reason assigned, though it is but fair to observe, that the Mahomedans suffered in a greater proportion than in former years, and that the regiment at Kaira were new-comers, and of course exposed to increased dangers from the influence of climate and the prevailing causes of sickness.

The influx of a large proportion of the population of a country yielding an annual revenue of 500,000*l.* cannot be

accurately ascertained; the emigrants arrived in Guzerat in detached bodies, and for the purpose of convenience spread themselves over the face of Guzerat, from the borders of the Gulf of Kutch to Surat, in many instances even flocking from ports on the coast to Bombay, which they were enabled to do in consequence of native chiefs and opulent merchants granting them passages free of charge. It should however be observed, that the larger proportion of the people who resorted to the Presidency were from Kattiwar, which suffered from the want of rain and the ravages of locusts in a much greater degree than the province of Guzerat. It is also out * of my * 303 power to give any certain account of the number of Marwarees who perished in the famine. I have seen in an evening's ride in the suburbs of this town, in which every practicable means for saving them were benevolently exercised, not less than fifty bodies scattered around, which the servants of the government had not had time to inter; I would therefore, from a review of all the circumstances related, be inclined to estimate, that not more than one in a hundred of these poor creatures ever returned to their native country.

[NOTE.—Famines have unfortunately been of very frequent occurrence in India. The latest information on the subject will be found in the following publications :—Col. Baird Smith's *Famine Report*, published by authority, 1861—a portion of this was reprinted at the Exchange Press in Bombay;—A Collection of papers illustrative of the several Scarcities which have happened in the Madras Presidency previous to 1866, compiled under the orders of Government by R. A. Dalrymple, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue;—Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866—Vol. I., Reports, &c. Calcutta; Vol. II., Appendices, Calcutta;—Report on Past Famines in the Bombay Presidency, compiled by Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Etheridge, Alienation Settlement Officer, S. D., with the Resolution of Government thereon, Bombay, 1868. Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I., p. 59, gives a very brief notice of the great Durgā Devī famine which is said to have occurred, and to which allusions have been indistinctly made in the traditionary accounts compiled by Colonel Etheridge. A paper by Mr. J. F. Thomas in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1839, pp. 53-77 and 206-220, gives useful hints on the duty of the State in times of famine. The following references are from the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, published in

London, Vol. IX., Jan. to June 1820 :—p. 79, Famine in Nagpur—jowari rose from 5 to 30 rupees the *khandi* : people employed on relief works ;—Vol. XIII., Part II., New Series, Jan. to April 1834 : pp. 20, 21, Famine in Berars and N. W. Provinces, children sold by the peasantry ; p. 26, Famine in Guzerath, crops destroyed by caterpillars ; p. 96, Famine in Vellore (Madras), its distressful consequences ; p. 98, Dearth in the Berars and the Deccan ; pp. 146, 167, 239, 273, Effects of drought in the Nizam's territories in Ulwár (cattle dying by hundreds, as well as men), Aurangábad, Akulkot, Oude, Cawnpur and Banda, as well as Hyderabad (Dekkan), Hansi, Bikancer, and Nusserábád ;—Vol. XIV., Part II., New Series (May to August), 1834 : pp. 97, 257, Famine in Kashmere, 25,000 inhabitants perished ; horrible effects of, described ; p. 250, Distress in Bundelkhand, and p. 262 in Kutch ;—Vol. XV., New Series, Part II. (September to December), 1834 : pp. 7 (Bundelkhand), 146, 199 (Kashmere), 198 (Ajmere), 202 (the Midnapur District, children sold to buy food, and population migrating to Calcutta) ; the effects in Kashmere are described as disastrous ;—Vol. XVI., New Series, Part II. (January to April), 1835 : pp. 20, Sale of children in Upper India ; 92, 222, Distress in Bundelkhand ; Vol. XXIV., New Series, Part II. (September to December), 1837 : pp. 247, Famine in Cuttack [or Katak] ; 285, at Futtehgur, Shahjehanpoor, Kalpi, and Singhbhoom ;—Vol. XXVI., New Series (May—August), 1838, Part I. : pp. 1, 89, 177, 266, 269, 273 : Famine in different parts, and means of preventing it ; Part II., pp. 20, 69, 78, 144, 184, 212, 213, 214, 237, Famine in the Upper Provinces of India ; pp. 70, 185, Meeting at Calcutta respecting the famine ; p. 188, the Doab ;—Vol. XXVII., New Series (September—December), 1838 : Part I., pp. 2, 69, 180, Unexampled severity of the famine, and the means of preventing it ; Part II., pp. 88, 93, 148, 154, 190, 195, 280, 281, 327, Famine in Upper India ; pp. 158, 271, Relief Fund at Calcutta, &c. ;—Vol. XXVIII., New Series ; (Jan.—April), 1839 : Part I., p. 256, The Famine, a tale from the Bostan ; Part II., pp. 200, 206, Distress in Kattywar and Kutch ; p. 226, Water famine in Bombay apprehended ; p. 245, Glasgow Meeting respecting the Indian Famine ; p. 264, Government assistance at Agra ;—Vol. XXIX., New Series, 1837 : Part II., p. 169, Famine in Agra, &c., Government Resolution respecting, &c. ;—Vol. XXX., New Series, 1839, Part I., p. 198, Famine in India ; Part II., pp. 69, 119, 123, Famine in Kattywar and its horrors ;—Vol. XXXVI., New Series, 1841, Part II. p. 104, Chronology of famines, a high land-tax followed by famines ;—Vol. I., Third Series, 1845, p. 468, periodical recurrence of famines after 18½ years.—Ed.]

297

* XX.

PLAN OF A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF INDIAN LANGUAGES.

By Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, President of the Society.

Read on the 26th of May 1806.

[The following paper is republished here in compliance with the resolution of the Society that all the papers read before it should be printed. The reader (especially the Indian reader) ought to bear in mind that it was written before the great light thrown on the Indian languages by late inquirers, and by the versions of the Scriptures into languages of which in 1806 the existence was unknown to most, if not to all, Europeans. Notwithstanding the liberal support of the various governments of British India, particularly of Lord Minto and Lord William Bentinck, the results of the inquiry were not sufficient to form a separate publication; they were therefore transmitted by order of the Society to the late Dr. Leyden, then engaged in similar researches on a very large scale, for which he was probably better qualified than any other European who ever visited India.]

The Empress Catherine II. in the year 1784 conceived the idea of a work, better adapted than any which had preceded it, to facilitate the comparison of languages, and to furnish certain means of determining their affinity and filiation. This work was a comparative vocabulary of all languages. It is obvious that so great a plan must have been altogether impracticable, if it had not been limited to a moderate number of words. Her Imperial Majesty herself selected, and wrote with her own hand, one hundred and thirty words, which she thought the best fitted for the purpose of the work; and the execution was committed to the celebrated Mr. Pallas, who has already published two volumes, exhibiting these words in two hundred languages of Europe and Asia. A third was promised, but has not yet been published, with those of America. This defect, however, may be supplied by Dr. B. S. Barton, professor of natural philosophy at Philadelphia, who is said to have collected vocabularies of a hundred American languages.

It is needless to observe how much gratitude and admiration are due to the sovereign who, in the midst of the cares of government, found leisure for so noble an enterprise; and to the celebrated scholar who undertook and executed a task so laborious. These sentiments of gratitude and admiration are not abated by some inconveniences which belong to the plan chosen, and by some defects unavoidable in the first execution of a work of such magnitude. So few copies were printed, and such was the consequent scarcity of the book, that it was not to be found even in the public library at Paris, the greatest in the world. Another circumstance besides its rarity made it almost inaccessible to curious and ingenious men. A spirit of nationality, pardonable indeed, but inconvenient, had dictated the choice of the Russian characters, known to very few men of letters. It required no great diligence to conquer that obstacle, but the character is said not to be in itself well adapted to perform the functions of an universal alphabet, and seems (in common indeed with most other alphabets) very imperfectly to represent the sounds employed by many other nations.

Very different degrees of accuracy were naturally to be expected in different parts of such a work. The authority of government was employed to collect specimens of the languages spoken throughout the vast extent of the Russian empire, and they may doubtless be presumed to be perfectly correct. The greatest exactness was also attainable in those languages of Slavonic origin, which are analogous in their structure and genius to the Russian, and which are spoken by nations in the immediate neighbourhood of that great empire. And no difficulty could be found respecting the polished languages either of ancient or modern Europe; but the same correctness was not possible with regard to the languages of distant nations, either illiterate, or whose literature was unknown to learned Europeans. Defects and errors respecting them were inevitable; and they are confessed by the learned compiler with the candour natural to conscious and secure superiority. It is indeed obvious * that in the * 299 hands of one man, or of one society, the work can never

approach completeness. It never can be executed to the extent or with the exactness desirable, in any other manner than by committing several parts of it to different persons, who may each contribute specimens of the languages most accessible to them; but this distribution would occasion such difficulty and delay as altogether to defeat the plan, if each contributor were only to take a single language. Nor is this at all necessary; the languages of the world are in general divided into classes, one of which extends over many neighbouring or connected countries; and which, having been originally dialects of the same speech, or branches from the same stock, retain, even in their separate form, similarity sufficient to make it convenient that they should be considered together. Thus in Europe, from the Rhine to the North Cape, and from the Vistula to the Atlantic, the predominant speech is *Teutonic*, which has gradually diverged into German, Dutch, English, Danish, Swedish (not to mention the dialects of German), the independent idioms of nations no longer intelligible to each other. This is a natural principle of classification. Besides, there is a practical convenience in committing to the same person or persons all the idioms spoken in the same empire, even when they have no natural analogy. This occurs in many cases in Russia; and even in our more contracted insular territories, we have the Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic, which, being Celtic dialects, are radically different from English. On either and perhaps on both these principles, from similarity of idiom and from local convenience, the languages of India become the proper province of the British nation. By Indian languages are meant, those spoken by that race of men, of which the majority professes the Braminical religion, and which inhabits the country extending from the Indus to the Burrampooter, and from the Northern Mountains to Cape Comorin. Whether the nations situated between the eastern frontier of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca ought to be comprehended in the Indian class, seems very doubtful; for though Buddhism be either a sect of Braminism, or a modification of the same original religion, and though deep traces of Sanscrit language and learning are discoverable among

* these nations, yet they are so blended with others of Malay extraction towards the south, and so tintured * 300 with Chinese manners and institutions towards the east, that it is doubtful whether they ought to be classed with the unmixed nations of Hindu race. All the Indian languages hitherto explored have a large mixture of Sanscrit; but in what relation they stand to that ancient and celebrated tongue, is a matter which has not yet been determined, and which indeed cannot be determined without a more exact comparison than has yet been laid before the public. The mere coincidence of many words will not prove that they are descended from it; on that principle English would be a daughter of the Latin. Nor is a different grammatical-structure a decisive proof that they are not so descended: for that difference subsists between Italian and Latin, between English and Saxon. Sanscrit may have been the ancient vernacular speech of all India, from which all her modern dialects are derived. It may have been the speech of one district, which, being more cultivated and polished, was adopted as the written, though not as the vulgar language of all the other provinces. It is thus that the Tuscan and Upper Saxon dialects are supposed to have become the written and polite languages of Italy and Germany, aided in the latter case by the great influence of Luther. It may have been the language of learning and refinement throughout India, insensibly formed out of the analogous spoken dialects which it left in undisturbed possession of vulgar use; this would be agreeable to the supposition of those German and Italian critics who have resisted the exclusive claims of Tuscany and Saxony. It may have been the speech of a conquering nation, which imposed its laws and religion on the vanquished, and imparted to them a great portion of its language. In this manner such multitudes of Norman words flowed into the Saxon, and, combining with it, gradually produced the modern English.

Other suppositions might be made, and those which I have offered above might be variously combined; as, the Sanscrit might have grown up spontaneously in one part of India, while

it might be introduced by conquest into another, and only by religion and learning into a third. But of problems which depend on such subtle distinctions it would be

* absurd to attempt the solution, without a series of
 * 301 writers of well ascertained antiquity, and without those collateral aids from civil history, which, in this country, it seems daily to become more vain to expect. Whether the Sanscrit be the groundwork of the spoken languages, or a subsequent addition—in other words, whether it be to them what the Saxon, or what the Norman is to the English—is a question to which caution and diligence may doubtless discover the true answer. For this purpose, it will be useful to observe with peculiar attention the state of derivatives and their roots, of compounds and their elements; the roots will often be found in Sanscrit where they have not been transferred, or have not been preserved in the vernacular tongue. But it will deserve particular notice whether insulated words or whole families have migrated; the first must happen in every case of intercourse between nations: the second, when it frequently occurs, is a strong proof of the descent of a language. It will also merit the greatest care to determine whether the Sanscrit words, in the spoken dialects, be learned, religious, and scientific terms, or words denoting the common objects and actions, for which no nation can be without names. In the first case they may be foreign, but in the second we may confidently pronounce the languages themselves to be of Sanscrit extraction.

We are informed by Sir William Jones, that in several of these tongues there is a combination of Sanscrit with an "*unknown basis*." Unhappily this great philologist seems to have considered the citation of authorities as unclassical, and to have regarded the detail of proofs as unsusceptible of elegance:—though it be very probable, therefore, from his great reputation, that his assertion is true, yet he has not made his researches useful to his successors, who must repeat and verify them before they make any conclusions from them. It would be most curious to ascertain whether this unknown basis be the same in all, or in any considerable number of Indian languages.

In Mr. Pallas's Vocabulary, that part which relates to India is necessarily one of the most incomplete. I now wish and hope to remedy that defect, and, by the aid of the British government in this country, to exhibit * a vocabulary, consisting of his words and of a certain number of * 302 others, in every language, dialect, and jargon of India.

It is not easy to distinguish these three terms from each other with logical precision; but, for practical purposes, the following distinction may perhaps suffice. When two sorts of speech differ so much that they who speak them are not intelligible to each other, we call them different languages; when they differ only so much as not to be easily and universally intelligible, they are different dialects; when this difference is confined to the unwritten and ungrammatical speech of the vulgar, it forms what the French call a *patois*, and what, for want of an appropriate term, I must, with the hazard of some reproach for innovation, call a jargon. Thus, before the union of the crowns, the Scottish and English were two dialects of the same Anglo-Norman language.† Since that period the Scottish can no longer pretend to equal rank; yet the remembrance of its former dignity, and the merit of the authors who have written in it, still entitle it to be called a dialect; from which the provincial speech of Lancashire or Devonshire would be conveniently distinguished by the term jargon.

It is my intention to transmit to the various governments of British India a list of words for an Indian vocabulary, with a request that they would forward copies to judges, collectors, commercial residents, and magistrates, directing them to procure the correspondent terms in every jargon, dialect, or language spoken within the district committed to their trust: and respecting the languages spoken without the Company's territories, that the same instructions may be given to residents at the courts of friendly and allied states, as far as their influence may extend. I shall propose that they may be directed

† For so it surely must be called, though Scotland was never conquered by Normans. The proportion of Norman words in Scotch seems, for some reason not yet very well ascertained, not to have been perceptibly less than in English.

to transmit the result of their inquiries to me, and I am ready to superintend the publication of the whole vocabulary.

It is particularly desirable that they should mark with great precision the place where any one language, dialect, or jargon or variety of speech * ceases, and another begins; and that * 303 they should note with more than ordinary care the speech of any tribes of men uncivilized, or in other respects different from the Hindoo race, whose language is most likely to deviate from the general standard. Mixed and frontier dialects, for the same reason, merit great attention.

The languages now least known to us seem to be those which are spoken on both sides of the Indus, from Tatta to Lahore; and the inquiry might be extended to Cashmir, of which country there are so many natives in most parts of India, that the Cashmirian words can easily be procured.

In the words, especially in those which are familiar, it will be convenient to choose the *most familiar* of two, or more, nearly synonymous words: that, for instance, which would be most easily understood by the lower sort of people.

Where there are many foreigners resident in a district, especially when they speak a language not otherwise very accessible to our inquiries, it will be a great addition to the value of a communication to procure the words to be translated into the foreign as well as the local languages. When the words or their orthography have changed in modern times, it would be most desirable to procure from learned natives the correspondent terms in the more ancient speech.

This vocabulary would be completed by a collection of all the ancient and modern alphabets of the district, their force being represented in English characters according to Mr. Gilchrist's system.

The sounds of all these languages are to be represented by English characters; and it will be more convenient to adopt Mr. Gilchrist's orthography, which is fixed and generally known, than to contrive another which, even if it were better, would require some time to teach, and probably encounter some opposition.

To facilitate the execution of the plan, there will be subjoined to this essay a specimen of the tabular form into which the vocabulary will be thrown.

The extent and limits would be most perspicuously represented by * small maps, in which different colours * 304 might denote the different sorts of speech.

Where there are sounds for the expression of which the English character and Mr. Gilchrist's orthography are supposed to be peculiarly inadequate, that circumstance ought to be mentioned. In such a case other signs may be used; provided that full warning be given of the deviation, and that the words be *also* given according to Mr. Gilchrist's system, as being that which is now best known and most generally adopted.

If, from accidental circumstances, it should be difficult for any gentleman to comply with the condition which requires the use of Mr. Gilchrist's system, he will be pleased to give as full an explanation as possible of the plan which he himself adopts.

Though in an undertaking which requires the support of the supreme authority, the first appeal must be made to the officers of government, yet I have no doubt that they will receive the voluntary aid of every intelligent Englishman, who possesses any means of contributing to the object; and that they will call for the assistance of all the learned natives, who must be able so powerfully to second their exertions.

VOCABULARY OF THE EMPRESS CATHERINE II.

1 God,	12 Boy,
2 Heaven,	13 Child,
3 Father,	14 Man,
4 Mother,	15 People,
5 Son,	16 Head,
6 Daughter,	17 Countenance,
7 Brother,	18 Nose,
8 Sister,	19 Nostril,
9 Husband,	20 Eye,
10 Wife,	21 Eyebrow,
11 Maiden,	22 Eyelashes,

23 Ear,	60 Love,	
24 Forehead,	61 Pain,	
*25 Hair,	62 Trouble,	
* 305 26 Cheek,	63 Labour,	
27 Mouth,	64 Force,	
28 Throat,	65 Power,	
29 Tooth,	66 Marriage,	
30 Tongue,	67 Life,	
31 Beard,	68 Size,	
32 Neck,	69 Spirit, (or Mind)	
33 Shoulder,	70 Death,	
34 Elbow,	71 Cold,	
35 Hand,	72 Circle,	
36 Finger,	73 Ball,	
37 Nail,	74 Sun,	
38 Belly,	75 Moon,	
39 Back,	76 Star,	
40 Foot,	77 Ray,	
41 Knee,	78 Wind,	
42 Skin,	79 Whirlwind,	
43 Flesh,	80 Tempest,	
44 Bone,	81 Rain,	
45 Blood,	82 Hail,	
46 Heart,	83 Lightning,	
47 Milk,	84 Snow,	
48 Hearing,	85 Ice,	
49 Sight,	86 Day,	
50 Taste,	87 Night,	
51 Smell, (the sense of)	88 Morning,	
52 Touch,	89 Evening,	
53 Voice,	90 Summer,	
54 Name,	*91 Spring,	* 306
55 Cry,	92 Autumn,	
56 Noise,	93 Winter,	
57 Howling,	94 Year,	
58 Speech,	95 Time,	
59 Sleep,	96 Earth,	

97 Water,	113 Height,
98 Sea,	114 Breadth,
99 River,	115 Length,
100 Wave,	116 Hole,
101 Sand,	117 Ditch,
102 Dust,	118 Stone,
103 Mud,	119 Gold,
104 Mountain,	120 Silver,
105 Coast,	121 Salt,
106 Rising Ground.	122 Marble,
107 Valley,	123 Forest,
108 Air,	124 Herb,
109 Vapour,	125 Tree,
110 Fire,	126 A Stake,
111 Heat,	127 Verdure.
112 Depth,	

One or two words have been omitted, either because there are no terms exactly corresponding in the English language, or because such corresponding terms did not occur to the writer. Several of the above words, especially such as relate to climate and seasons, will probably, from physical reasons, be untranslatable in the languages of a tropical country. They are preserved out of respect to the original plan, and with a view to suit the Indian vocabulary, as far as possible, to the Universal.

The following words are subjoined to those taken from the Russian vocabulary:—

1 One,	11 Eleven,
2 Two,	12 Twenty,
3 Three,	13 Thirty,
4 Four,	14 One Hundred,
5 Five,	15 One Thousand,
6 Six,	16 First,
7 Seven,	17 Second,
8 Eight,	18 Third,
*307 * 9 Nine,	19 Fourth,
10 Ten,	20 Twentieth,
18 .	

21 I,	58 About,
22 Thou,	59 Over,
23 He, She, It,	60 Much,
24 We,	61 Under,
25 You,	62 More,
26 They,	63 Most, ' ,
27 Above,	64 Very,
28 Below,	65 Perhaps,
29 Before,	66 Rather,
30 Behind,	67 Once,
31 Upon,	68 Twice,
32 Of,	69 Only,
33 From,	70 Alone,
34 By,	71 Yes,
35 This,	72 No,
36 That,	73 Who,
37 If,	74 What,
38 Unless,	* 75 Where,
39 Yet,	76 When,
40 Still,	77 Which,
41 Though,	78 To be,
42 But,	79 To have,
43 Without,	80 I will,
44 And,	81 I ought,
45 Since,	82 I may,
46 Notwithstanding,	83 I can,
47 Nevertheless,	84 I wish,
48 Except,	85 To walk,
49 Because,	86 To run,
50 Therefore,	87 To ride,
51 Then,	88 To stand,
52 There,	89 To fall,
53 In,	90 To lie down,
54 With,	91 To eat,
55 Through,	92 To drink,
56 To,	93 To fight,
57 Till,	94 A Horse,

95 A Cow,	132 Rice,
96 A Bull,	133 Wheat,
97 A Buffalo,	134 Hay,
98 A Cock,	135 Arrack,
99 A Hen,	136 Opium,
100 A Tiger,	137 Bang,
101 A Serpent,	138 A Tailor,
102 A Sheep,	139 A Weaver,
103 A Bird,	140 A Carpenter,
104 A Fish,	*141 A Smith, * 309
105 A Panther,	142 A Labourer in
106 A Camel,	husbandry,
107 An Elephant,	143 A Rock,
108 A Ship,	144 A Cave,
109 A Boat,	145 A Shadow,
110 A Sail,	146 Far,
111 An Oar,	147 Near,
112 A Sailor,	148 Beside,
113 A Commander of a vessel,	149 Beyond,
114 A Soldier,	150 Stream,
115 An Officer,	151 Town,
116 Cotton,	152 Field,
117 Silk,	153 All the <i>measures</i> corre-
118 Wool,	sponding to inch, foot,
119 Sickness,	mile, &c., reduced as far
120 Health,	as possible to English
121 A Sword,	measures.
122 A Loom,	All the <i>weights</i> corre-
123 A Saw,	sponding to ounce,
124 A Shoe,	pound, &c., reduced in
125 A Bed,	like manner to English
126 A House,	denominations.
127 A Door,	Measures of <i>time</i> do. do.
128 A Nail,	do.
129 A Hammer,	Names of <i>days of the week</i> ,
130 A Knife,	&c.
131 An Island,	

Names of <i>months</i> , with corresponding months in English calendar.		178 Auger,
		179 Pity,
		180 Rich,
154 Root,		181 Poor,
155 Bread,		182 Revenge,
156 Pepper,		183 Forgiveness,
157 Oil,		184 Hunger,
158 Eggs,		185 Thirst,
159 White,		186 A Branch,
160 Black,		187 A Leaf,
161 Red,		188 A Flower,
162 Green,		189 Earth,
163 Yellow,		190 Hard,
164 Blue,		191 Soft,
165 Brown,		192 Quick,
166 Iron,		193 Slow,
167 Lead,		194 Weakness,
168 Tin,		*195 Strength,
169 Brass,		196 To move,
170 Native,		197 To rest,
171 Stranger,		198 To fly,
172 Friend,		199 To swim,
173 Enemy,		200 To sink,
174 To buy,		201 To seek,
175 To sell,		202 To find,
176 To borrow,		203 To heal,
177 To lend,		204 To kill.

* 310

The far greater part of the above words are selected on the principle that, being of indispensable use, they must have been original parts of the language in which they are found, and cannot have been derived from a foreign source. The agreement of various languages in such words is, therefore, a decisive proof that such languages sprung from the same stock. The *numerals* will be universally acknowledged to be of that sort.—No doubt will be entertained about the words confounded under the appellation of *particles*, and which, before the work of Mr. Horne Tooke, were the reproach of grammarians.

All the other terms denote objects, qualities, or actions, which could not in any country have remained long without a name; the mere inspection of the list is indeed a practical proof that such words are a decisive criterion of the filiation of a language. The far greater part of the English words are indubitably Saxon, and they would of themselves be sufficient to show the real source of our modern English; but the vocabulary would not be complete without some of those words which are most likely to be foreign, and which, for example, in English, are chiefly of Greek and Roman origin.

I shall begin with some of the greater gods and most important divine personages in the Hindoo mythology, the collection of whose local appellations and names in the spoken languages, must be the first step towards a simple and perspicuous account of the Indian religion.

Brimh (the eternal and infinite	5 Creation,
Being,)	6 Providence,
Bramha,	7 Temple,
Veeshnoo,	8 Sacrifice,
Seeva,	9 Priest,
Suruswutee,	10 Pilgrimage,
Lukshmee,	11 Government,
Purvutee,	12 King,
Bhawancee,	13 Queen,
Ramu,	14 Minister,
Kreeshnu,	15 General,
Boodha,	16 Judge,
* Maia,	17 Law,
* 311 Bendra,	18 Right,
Gunnesha,	19 Justice,
Varoona,	20 Punishment,
Kartikeya,	21 Theft,
Kamu,	22 Murder,
1 Godhead,	23 Rebellion,
2 Wisdom,	24 War,
3 Power,	25 Peace,
4 Goodness,	26 Honesty,

totally unknown in his time, *e.g.* Sindhi and Pushtu, have not only become accessible to all who desire to study them in good grammars and dictionaries, but even their limited and comparatively young literatures have seen the light in a printed form. For all that, however, it must be admitted that a list of the words of the Empress Catherine given at the end of this paper would, if given in all the Indian languages, even in our times be a compilation of some interest, and it is a pity that the plan proposed by Sir James Mackintosh has never yet been realized. There is no objection to represent all these words in English characters as he desires, if a strict system of transliteration be adhered to ; but the original characters, if the language be one possessing such, ought by no means to be omitted, but should be added for the sake of greater accuracy. Could such a small work be compiled and presented on the first of September at the next Oriental Congress, it would be a decidedly polite tribute to the memory of the enlightened Empress of the country where the Congress meets this year.

The vocabulary above proposed to be compiled, although small, has never been accomplished in India, because of other inducements, *e.g.* Government orders, or promises of reward, which can never supply the love of science. This last has now accomplished more than was expected in the time of Sir James Mackintosh, and that by one individual. John Beames has done immense service to science by his "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India: to wit, Hindi, Panjâbi, Sindhi, Gujarâti, Marâthi, Oriyâ, and Bangâli." The second volume has just been published. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar deserves careful study. It is a pity that our vernaculars have been generally neglected, at least on this side of India. But better things are expected from the spread of classical education under the new system of instruction. For further information I would refer to Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, First and Second Series, and Professor Whitney's Language and the Study of Language. —Ed.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

Queries ; to which the Answers will be Contributions towards a Statistical Account of Bombay.

WHAT are the longitude and latitude of Bombay by the best observations? How far have observations varied?

What are the superficial contents of the island? What is the nature of the soil in all the parts of its surface?

What are the fossils which are found in it?

What are the strata, and how are they disposed, which form the basis of this island?

What are the most numerous races of animals?

Are there any, and what, animals peculiar to it?

Do its vegetable productions in any respects differ from those of the neighbouring parts of India?

Do they differ from those regions of the East which have been explored by scientific botanists?

A catalogue of Bombay plants, with Linnaean names, and various purposes in agriculture, horticulture, manufactures, or medicine, to which they are made subservient by natives or Europeans.

An exact register of the thermometer, barometer, &c. for the longest time possible.

An exact register of the bearing of the winds, with reference to the temperature.

On what days have the monsoons commenced and ceased for a number of years?

* What has been the interval between the cessation of
* 306 the monsoon and the latter rain?

What quantity of rain has annually fallen?

Till accurate observations shall be made on this subject, information might probably be obtained of the height of the tanks, which would be a comparative standard.

What are the prevalent diseases of natives and Europeans ?
How are they affected by the change of seasons, and by the different degrees of heat and moisture which prevail in different years ?

What were the former, and what are the present modes of cure ?

What positive evidence can be produced of a diminution of mortality under the present treatment ?

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC.

Salsette.

What is the number of the inhabitants from actual survey ?

What is their division into sects and nations, and their subdivision into castes ?

Tables of births, deaths, and marriages. In the table of deaths, the age and the qualification of married or single to be added.

In this there will be no difficulty in the Mussulman inhabitants. The Cauzee says it will be very easy. Nor among the Parsees, where the heads of the caste have an exact enumeration ; but most difficult, where most important, among the Hindu population.

In the enumeration, to ascertain the trade of every individual.

The number of persons in each family ; the number of persons in each house ; the number of houses in the island.

What are the wages of workmen in all the various kinds of labour ; of servants, &c. ?

What are the average profits of the various trades ?

What are the kinds and tenures of property in the island ?

Who are the owners of the land ?

What is the rent of land ?

What are the implements employed in agriculture ?

What is the produce of the ground ? What is the average profit of a farmer ?

What changes appear to have taken place in the modes of cultivation, or the quantity of produce ?

* What contrivances remarkable either for rudeness or
 * 307 ingenuity are employed in arts or manufactures?

What substances not generally known in Europe are
 advantageously used in arts or manufactures?

IN THE DIFFERENT RELIGIONS.

What is the number, names, rank, and functions of the
 ministers of religion of every sect in the island?

What is their income and its sources? What are their ne-
 cessary qualifications? Where and how are they educated?

*As to the Bramins:—*How many* of them are chiefly employed
 in functions merely secular?

How many are mendicants? How many officiating priests
 in families or pagodas?

How many have any tincture of learning, any acquaintance
 with the learned and sacred language, with the Law, &c. so as
 to qualify them for acting as Pundits?

By what names are all these classes of Bramins known?

What are the places of worship, of interment, of pilgrimage,
 &c. in this island?

What traditional or written accounts are to be found of the
 Concanese Jews, of whom so many are to be found here?

In what language do the Jews of Cochin read the Old Testa-
 ment?

Is there any evidence that they, or any other of the Jews
 scattered over India, have ever adopted the notion of the Jewish
 origin of the Afghans?

Have the Afghans any traces of the national physiognomy
 which distinguishes the Jews from Philadelphia to Bombay?

Has this island or its neighbourhood been the scene of any
 actions renowned in Hindu mythology?

To what local divinities was the island or any part of it sacred?

EARLIER HISTORY.

Is there anything in the ancient languages or traditions of
 this country which could have any relation to the Grecized
 words *Seiseicreinian*, by which the Periplus seems to denote
 this cluster of islands?

Have the environs of Callian been ever diligently explored ?

Have any Grecian coins or medals been found at or near Callian, or anywhere else in this neighbourhood ?

* What are the most ancient traditions of a Hindu government here? Was the island ever subject or * 308 tributary to any of the Mussulman princes who reigned on the opposite continent ?

From what power, in what manner, and at what times, was Bombay conquered by the Portuguese ?

What remarkable events occurred during the Portuguese government, which seems to have lasted about 130 years (*i.e.* from about 1530 to 1661)?

DURING THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Summaries of exports and imports in the custom-house books from the earliest times.

What have been the coins current ? What has been the value of the money annually coined in the mint of Bombay ?

When and at what expense were the most useful and remarkable public works erected ?

What has been the number, tonnage, and nation of the ships which have entered this port, as far back as there are regular records ?

What have at different times been the number and occupations of the European inhabitants ?

What alterations appear to have taken place in their mode of life, houses, equipage, &c. ?

Is there any means of exactly ascertaining the comparative number of carriages, country-houses, &c. at the distance of thirty years ? †

[NOTE.—Exhaustive answers to the questions in the above Appendix A will fill several volumes. And it is not the object of these notes to supply those. I have already referred in my previous notes to various works on Bombay and its neighbourhood : and I would now refer to the following, which supply information on most of the points noted in the above questions :—

† As no answers were received to these queries, they are reprinted merely to suggest topics of inquiry to the residents at Bombay.

John Graham's Catalogue of the Plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity, 1839; Bombay Flora, by N. A. Dalzell and A. Gibson, 1861; N. A. Dalzell's Catalogue of the Indigenous Flowering Plants of the Bombay Presidency, 1858, and his Observations on the Influence of Forests, &c. as applicable to Bombay, 1863; Dr. G. Birdwood's Bombay Products, 1860; Dr. H. J. Carter's Papers on the Geology of Western India, 2 vols. 1857; Dr. C. Morehead's work on Clinical Medicine, and the various papers on Medical and Meteorological subjects in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical and Medical and Physical Societies; the Observations of the Colaba Observatory up to the current year: the Reports of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and those of the Commissioner of Customs and Reporter General of External Commerce published by Government; Warden's Report on the Land Tenures of Bombay; the Foras Land Reports; the English in Western India, by Philip Anderson, 2nd ed., 1856. The Journal of our own Branch Society may also be referred to. At the same time, I may say that some of the above questions still require investigation and more light being thrown upon them hereafter.—Ed.]

*Letter of the President of the Literary Society of Bombay to the
President of the Asiatic Society.*

SIR,

Bombay, 24th February 1806.

By the desire of the Literary Society of Bombay, I have the honour of laying before you, for the information of the Asiatic Society, some suggestions which appear to us likely to contribute to the progress of knowledge, and to the honour of our national character. The proposition which we are about to make, arose in a great measure from an act of your learned Society : on that account, as well as on every other, you are entitled to be consulted regarding it, to decide on its reasonableness, and, if you approve it, to take the lead in its execution. We observe that you patronize the projected translation of the *Ramayan* by Mr. Carey and his friends ;—the choice does honour to your discernment. As an example of the taste, a monument of the genius, and a picture of the manners, as well as a record of the mythology and poetical history of the heroic ages of India, it will undoubtedly lay open more of this country to the learned of Europe, than they could discover from many volumes of ingenious dissertations. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are as valuable to the philosopher as to the man of taste ; their display of manners is as interesting to the one, as their transcendent beauties are delightful to the other ; but the most ingenious essay on the origin of the *Pelasgi* is not quite so interesting, though we are far from denying to such inquiries their proper rank amongst the most elegant amusements of curiosity and leisure. Works so voluminous, and likely at first to find so few purchasers, as the translation of the *Ramayan*, require patronage, which is an encumbrance and a restraint on compositions addressed to the general taste of an enlightened nation. We have no doubt that your patronage will procure to these meritorious translators such pecuniary assistance as may protect them from suffering by their useful labours.

Permit us to observe, that something more seems to be required. It is well known that Mr. Wilkins, a distinguished member of your Society, has long had *ready for the * 310 press a complete translation of the *Mahabharat*; but no private individual of moderate fortune can ever hazard the publication of so immense a work; no bookseller can with common prudence undertake it; so that without extraordinary assistance this noble work must remain obscure and useless in the closet of the translator. Nor is this all:—many individuals are now qualified and well disposed to undertake translations from the Sanscrit, if they were assured of the means of publication without loss, and of moderate remuneration where their circumstances required it. On the other hand it cannot be doubted, that in an opulent and liberal community there are many perfectly ready to supply those small contributions which would be sufficient for such a purpose; but the indigent scholar does not know whence he is to receive, and the generous patron does not know where he ought to bestow. We wish to see a common centre, to which both may be directed; and we beg leave to suggest, that the Asiatic Society may, in a public address to the British inhabitants of India, propose a general subscription to create a fund for defraying the necessary expenses of publishing translations of such Sanscrit works as shall most seem to deserve an English version, and for affording a reasonable recompense to the translators where their situation makes it necessary. It is proposed that the money when collected should be vested in a body, of whom your Society would naturally furnish the majority, who would be trustees of the fund, and judges of the works to be translated, of the qualifications of those who are appointed to translate, and of the merit of their versions. If the principle were approved, the detailed regulations would be easily arranged.

It is premature, and might be presumptuous in us, to point out the publications to which such a fund might be more especially destined; it is however obvious that the first place is, on every principle, due to the two great epic poems of which we have spoken. The impression made by *Sacontala* in every

country of Europe would be sufficient, if other arguments were wanting, to point our attention to the drama. The celebrated dramatic pieces of India are said not to be very numerous, and it would not be difficult to realize the wish of the French missionary, who in the *Lettres Edifiantes* expresses a hope of presenting his country with a Sanscrit Theatre. We shall not speak of a grammar and dictionary of that language, because we understand that they are in great forwardness, and may soon be expected from learned members of your Society;— we shall not presume to decide whether the *Vedas* ought to form part of the plan, because we cannot estimate the difficulties which seem to attend the translation of these books. The province of history appears to be absolutely vacant in Hindu literature; but among the *innumerable treatises on speculative philosophy and ethics, some might be chosen * 311 very interesting to European philosophers: not perhaps for any new certain knowledge which they might afford on these subjects, but for the light which they must throw on the history of opinion, and for a conformity not only in morals— which would not be extraordinary, because, notwithstanding the difference of dress and exterior, the moralists of all ages and nations have in general agreed; but in the devious and eccentric speculations of the metaphysicians, which seem to fluctuate more with the intellectual and moral peculiarities of the individual, and which therefore more excite our wonder when we find them agree in distant times and places. To which must be added some works on pure and mixed mathematics, which, if the date of the works be ascertained, will, with more certainty than any other work of learning, determine the antiquity of civilization in the country where they are composed.

The full execution of this project will add a new department to the library of the poet, the elegant scholar, the inquirer into manners, into the origin of nations, and the progress of society; of the speculator on the first principles of knowledge, on the structure of the human mind, and on the revolutions of opinion; without compelling them to add a new language to the many ancient and living dialects, by the necessity of acquiring

which they are already overwhelmed. To those who are desirous of adding Sanscrit learning to their present stores, it presents printed books, grammars, and dictionaries—means which have been hitherto wanting, and without which nothing could be done by the most industrious as long as they remained in Europe. Perhaps the ancient history of India may be irrecoverably lost; but if this plan be carried into execution, the private scholar of every European country may, with little trouble and with absolute confidence, read the history of Indian science and art, usages and opinions of the Indian mind. The most interesting part will be accessible: we shall not perhaps have any serious reason to lament that we have not to load our memory with new volumes of facts and dates. We shall know nothing indeed of the dynasties of Palibothra:—But how much, after so many ages of learned investigation, do we know with certainty of those of Babylon and Persepolis? We shall not be minutely acquainted with the biography of Vicramaditya; but if we were to cast up only what we believe on sufficient evidence about Romulus, perhaps the balance of real history might not be very large in favour of the Italian chief.

The undertaking would be worthy of the British nation, and acceptable to *all Europe. We see no difficulties
 * 312 among such a Society as the British India, but such as activity and your influence may easily vanquish. We presume that the Directors of the East India Company would be disposed liberally to contribute towards it:—for our parts, we offer our cordial co-operation. The Society will exert all its credit, and the members will not be wanting in such contributions as the circumstances of their fortune will permit.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your faithful, humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES MACKINTOSH.

[NOTE.—The work which Sir James Mackintosh here proposed has since been taken up by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under whose auspices the *Bibliotheca Indica* is now being published for several

years; the *Vedas* have also been published in Europe; while the *Ramayana* and the *Mahābhārata* have been reproduced at different places in India; the *Pandit* at Benares gives the texts and comments on difficult Sanskrita works every month;—the late Dr. Goldstucker was, I believe, mainly instrumental in starting the Sanskrita Text Society; but I do not think it is doing much just now.--ED.]

GENERAL MALCOLM'S SPEECH

*On moving that Sir James Mackintosh be requested to sit for
his Bust.*

(Delivered 13th January 1812.)

GENTLEMEN,

THOUGH I am confident that any motion that is meant to do honour to Sir James Mackintosh will meet with the assent of every member of this Society, I still deem it necessary to preface that which I intend to make by a few words, which are, however, not so much intended to point out the qualities of our Honorary President, as to explain those feelings and sentiments which have induced me to come forward upon this occasion.

[At the desire of Sir James Mackintosh, the passage which relates more peculiarly to himself is omitted in the present publication.]

Among the many means which our Honorary President devised to give effect to his favourite object of adding to the information we already possessed of India and its inhabitants, there was none he contemplated with more confidence than the institution of this Society. He saw how much had been effected by one founded on similar principles at Bengal; and though he might have despaired, from the limited number of the members of this body, and their comparatively confined scene of action, of their ever rivalling that justly celebrated institution, he must have considered that it was honourable even to follow in such a path; and that the degree of success could not be calculated till the experiment was fairly tried. I have seen sufficient to satisfy my mind that the hopes which he formed (upon this head) will not be disappointed. The field in which this Society has to labour, though it may appear small, will be found most productive. More approximated than any other part of British India to the shores of Arabia and Persia, and en-

joying a more frequent intercourse with their inhabitants, the source of all knowledge connected with the Mahomedan religion and usages is more near and accessible. The borders of Guzerat and the deserts of Joudpore present most extraordinary races of men to your observation ; among whom many singular customs in their manners, if not in their worship, may be discovered ; *and there is no place in India more favourable than this to the researches of the antiquarian * 314 and Oriental scholar. The caves of Elephanta, of Salsette, of Karlee, and Ellora, are all in its vicinity ; and these, with the ruins of Ahmedabad and other cities of former celebrity in Guzerat, offer an inexhaustible source to the curious and learned inquirer. The city of Bombay itself (I here speak from experience) presents, from its numerous population and the various persons who resort to it from every quarter, a great store of information (to those that seek it) on almost all subjects connected with the history, geography, and actual condition of the different kingdoms of Asia. It is not only from its commercial prosperity that such persons resort to it, but from its being the port to which all the inhabitants of Arabia, Persia, Mekran, and part of Affghanistan, that visit India first come ; as also that by which all pass that either go from India to these countries, or who proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Kerbelah, or Nujiff. In the whole course of my inquiries regarding the present state of the different provinces of Persia, Arabia, Affghanistan, Tartary, and even China, I have always been able to find a person in this city that was either a native of, or had visited, the country regarding which I desired information. Independent of all these, the Guebers or Parsees (a complete account of whom is still a desideratum) are only to be met with in Bombay and its dependent provinces.

These great local advantages must have been contemplated by our Honorary President on the first formation of this Society : he no doubt also took a just view of the qualities of those that were to turn such advantages to account ; and here I am still more certain he was right. This Society is already in the possession of talents that promise at early fame, and I most ear-

nestly hope it will gradually gain strength. I cannot refrain in this place from remarking that our ground of this hope rests upon a measure of a member of this Society, the late Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, who, with a wisdom that does honour to his memory, has, by appointing a linguist to each native battalion, laid the foundation (if I am not greatly mistaken) of very great benefit, not only to the public service, but to Oriental literature—that is, provided those principles upon which this measure was adopted continue to be rigorously observed. The officer appointed to this station is selected from his superior proficiency in the knowledge of the language and manners of the inhabitants of India. He holds an office which, from its emolument and respectability, is an object of desire to his equals and of hope to his juniors; his duties are very peculiar, and his mind must be of a very low stamp if he does not aim (even after he is appointed) at further improvement.

*He is not merely the correct interpreter at all military * 315 trials, and the medium through whom his commanding officer can correspond with natives of all ranks, but the person to whom a reference is naturally made on all points connected with their religion and usages, with which he is, or should be, completely acquainted. But this, even, is a limited view of the probable effect of the measure to which I have alluded; it is calculated to promote a spirit of improvement and knowledge among that class in which it will be most useful, because those that belong to it are likely to have the most extensive opportunities of pursuing their inquiries. The general success of the measure has (if I am rightly informed) been fully equal to what its author expected, and the Society will judge, from the rare acquirements of some of its present members (who have been bred in this school), of that accession of strength which it may hereafter expect from the same quarter.

There is no part of that plan upon which this institution is founded which merits more admiration than that which provides for the establishment of a select and large library. This step was taken at the suggestion of the Honorary President, and he looked forward with the most sanguine expectation

to the effects it would produce. In this he cannot be mistaken: a spirit of curiosity and investigation will arise in proportion to the means provided for its gratification; and your most active and able members will proceed with more confidence in themselves, when they have ready reference to all that has been published on the subject which occupies their attention. This library (which will annually augment) must soon contain a collection of valuable volumes far beyond what any individual possesses; it will be consecrated to the general diffusion of knowledge and the encouragement of literature, and cannot but tend in a very essential manner to promote the general good. Viewing it in this light, and recurring to all that I have said, I trust you will agree there is a peculiar propriety in that motion which I shall now submit to your consideration: viz. "That Sir James Mackintosh be requested to sit for a bust to be placed in the Library of the Literary Society of Bombay, as a token of the respect and regard in which he is held by that body."

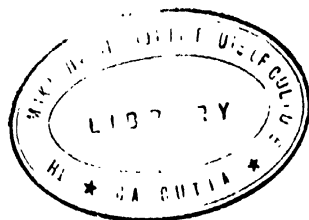
[NOTE.—This speech ought to inspire all scholars, Native and European, to work with zeal in the cause of Oriental research.—ED.]

Extract of a Letter from William Bruce, Esq., Resident at Bushire, to William Erskine, Esq., of Bombay, dated Bushire, 26th March 1813; communicating the Discovery of a Disease in Persia contracted by such as milk the Cattle and Sheep, and which is a Preventive of the Small-pox.

MY DEAR SIR,—When I was in Bombay I mentioned to you that the cow-pox was well known in Persia by the Eliaats or wandering tribes: since my return here, I have made very particular inquiries on this subject amongst several different tribes who visit this place in the winter to sell the produce of their flocks, such as carpets, rugs, butter, cheese, &c. Their flocks during this time are spread over the low country to graze;—every Eliaat that I have spoken to on this head, of at least six or seven different tribes, has uniformly told me that the people who are employed to milk the cattle caught a disease, which after once having had, they were perfectly safe from the small-pox; that this disease was prevalent among the cows, and showed itself particularly on the teats: but that it was more prevalent and more frequently caught from the sheep. Now this is a circumstance that has never, I believe, before been known; and of the truth of it I have not the smallest doubt, as the persons of whom I inquired could have no interest in telling me a falsehood, and it is not likely that every one whom I spoke to should agree in deceiving; for I have asked at least some forty or fifty persons. To be more sure on the subject, I made most particular inquiries of a very respectable farmer who lives about fourteen miles from this, by name Mallilla (whom Mr. Babington knows very well), and who is under some obligations to me. This man confirmed everything that the Eliaats had told me, and further said that the disease was very common all over the country, and that his own sheep often had it. There may be one reason for the Eliaats saying that they caught the infection oftener from the sheep than the cow, which is, that

most of the butter, ghee, cheese, &c. is made from sheep's milk, and that the black-cattle yield very little, being more used for draught than anything else. If you think this information worthy of being communicated to the Society of which I have the honour of being a member, I beg you will do it in any way you think proper.

[NOTE.—I do not think this point has yet been quite settled. I have met with statements quite contrary to what is here advanced, namely, that persons living with cows, but especially those who milk them, never get the small-pox; and it would be worth the while of our medical men to inquire if there is any truth in the statement, or whether it is merely to be modified to this extent, that such persons are less liable to be attacked than others.—ED.]



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